L'ESTRANGE
HIS
APOLOGY:

WITH
A Short View, of some Late and Remarkable Transactions, Leading to the happy Settlement of these Nations under the Government of our Lawfull and Gracious
SOVERAIGN
CHARLS the II.
whom GOD Preserve.

By R. L. S.

Qui aliquid statuit, parte inauditâ alterâ,
Æquum licèt statuerit, Iniquus est Judex.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

The PREFACE.

IF it were poſsible to pleaſe all Humours, I would by all fair means endeavour it; for I perceive that Knaves, and Fools have Honeſter, and Wiſer men much at their Mercy. Opinion is the Common people's Idol; they Make it firſt, and then they Worſhip it. Nor matters it how Frivolous and Weak the Ground is, ſo the Report be ſtrong; for Rumour is not allwaies founded upon Truth, and Reaſon; but like a Peſtilence, it Riſes from a Vapour; Spreads it ſelf; and One ſoul Breath, ſuffices to Defame the cleereſt Soul in Nature. As it is Vain, to ſtrive againſt the ſtream of Popular Affections: ſo Providence hath rendered it Unneceſſary too, by making the meer Conſcience of a Noble Action, a large Requital of it. Nor is it Virtue, but Deſign, or Vanity, that looks beyond its proper ſelf, either for Profit, or Applauſe. Briefly; the worſt that Calumny and Malice, can Throw upon a Private Perſon, is but a Taſt of the ſame Cup, whereof, our Lord and Miſter, hath Drank a Deep, and Bitter Draught before us. All this conſider'd; our Religion, or Philoſophy, ſerves us to Little purpoſe, if we Murmur, Shrink, or Tranſport our ſelves, under a Fate ſo Hard to be Avoided, ſo Eaſily Born, and ſo Glorious to Overcome.

Let me not be Miſtaken; As I think nothing more Ridiculous,

lous, than to appear Diſturb'd, for a Pretence-leſs, and Malitious Scandal, while it regards only the Voluntary, and Trivial Contrivers of it: So do I think nothing more Reaſonable, when ſuch an Errour ſhall have wrought it ſelf into a Credit among Sober Perſons, than by an Open, Calm, and Clear Defence, for him that's Injur'd to Acquit himſelf. Nor am I Ignorant, what Cenſure waites upon Diſcourſes of this Quality; nor (to deal Freely) much Concern'd: -- upon this Principle, that I am Certain not to Diſoblige any One Perſon that I care to Pleaſe.

I reckon that I have to deal with Three ſorts of People.

The First, Conſiſts of ſuch as have no hand at all in my Diſhonor: Perhaps, no Knowledge, neither of my Cauſe, nor Perſon. Theſe I deſire by any means not to beſtow their Time, or Money, upon This Pamphlet, as having no ſhare in the Intention of it. If they will needs be Meddling, 'tis their Own fault, not Mine, the miſ employment of that Hour they Caſt away upon it. It is One weakneſs, to Write Vain Diſcourſes, and 'tis Another to Read them Beſide; My Buſineſs is a kind of Privacy, and it is ſcarce Good Manners, in a Stranger to Hearken after it. In ſober Earneſt, did I but know to whoſe Ear properly I might Direct the Senſe of what I Suffer, I ſhould not have Committed it to Paper. But, as the Caſe ſtands, I cannot Avoid it; for nothing but a Publique Defence, can wipe off a Publique Scandall; and That way too, 'tis but to ſave One Blot, and ſet another; Hazzarding my Diſcretion, to ſecure my Honour. It is with Books, juſt as it is with Meats, Some are diſpoſed for Luxe, and Guſt; --- Others for Health; and ſome again

for

for pure Neceſſity. *I have provided nothing here for Peeviſh Palates; nor, in Effect, for any other Perſons than ſuch as I would make my Friends, and Thoſe I Love to Treat with Liberty, and Plainneſſe. In Fine; hee's a Rude Gueſt, that Preſſing to a Table Un-invited, diſparages his Entertainment: and hee's a Partial Judge, that blames Another, for Writing that upon Neceſsity, which he himſelf may Read, or let alone, at pleaſure.*

The Second *ſort, is a* Miſtaken Party: *ſuch as have either been* Miſ-led, *out of an* Faſineſſe *to Credit looſe Reports; or by the Current of a Common Vote, Induc'd to an Aſſent, to what they could not Contradict, and to take* Probabilities *for* Truths, *wanting the means to Diſcern One, from the Other. Theſe are the Onely Perſons I conſider, as properly the Subjects of my Care, and Trouble. — I would not have my* Suppos'd *Faults, become* Really *Theirs. Nor is it leſs* Their Intereſt, *to* Know *the Truth, than Mine to* Tell *it. My* Reputation *lyes at ſtake,* Their Juſtice: *and the ſame Act, that Frees me from a* Misfortune, *Delivers* Them *too from an* Errour. *It is to* Theſe *then that I Dedicate this Demonſtration of my Innocence; not doubting but that ſuch as have made this Apology* Neceſſary, *will likewiſe think it* Pardonable. *To ſuit the Method of it, to the Obligation: It is the Sureſt, and the Safeſt Cure of all Diſorders, both of Body, and Mind, to Apply to the* Root, *and Cauſes of them: and not by a Direct, and Paſſionate Oppoſition, to daſh one Weakneſs againſt Another. Some people Erre out of* Facility, *and* Heedleſneſſe; *I ſhall beſtow a Little* Counſel *upon them: But then there is a* Serious Par-

ty,

ty, that is not mov'd, but by fair Likelihoods, *and Strong Appearances of* Reaſon, *and Thoſe I ſhall endeavour to prevaile upon, by Evidences of* Fact.

Firſt; *In the matter of* Counſel; *Every man ſhould do well to conform all his Actions to the rules of* Conſcience, Honour, Prudence, *and* Convenience, *by theſe means* Reconciling (*as much as poſſible*) Duty, *and* Intereſt. *Not to* Range *over the whole Field of Chriſtian Dutyes, &c.* —— *I ſhall confine my ſelf to my Subject, and onely in Few Words* Obſerve, *how Contrary to all theſe Obligations, That Humour is* (*to ſay no worſe*) *of taking up* Evil Reports *upon* Truſt, *and Venting them for* Truths.

I do accompt that Babbling Levity, *to* Malice, *but what* Chance-Medly *is to* Murther; *perhaps no harm Intended, but a man's* Kill'd *with* Fooling: *beſide the Breach of* Charity, *and the Violation of* Sociable Juſtice. *This as to* Conſcience.

Conſider next in point of Honour; *how Ignoble 'tis to Wound a man behind his* Back; *nay in his* Sleep; *that neither* Knows *his* Enemy, *nor* Feels *the* Wound, *till he is Loſt beyond all poſſibility of* Defence, *or* Reſiſtance. *Can any thing be* Meaner, *than, for no* Provocation *Given, and for no* Benefit *Expected, to ruine an* Unknown *and* (*perhaps*) Guilleſſe *perſon, paſt all power of* Reparation?

Nor is the Humour more Diſcreet, *than* Noble. *It is a* Weakneſſe *that Proclaimes it ſelf; and Prints a Marque, and Character of* Folly *upon whoever uſes it. Is any man eſteemed*

the

the Wiſer *for telling* All *he Knowes*; *or the* Honeſter *for ſpeaking* More? *In Fine*; *His* Vertues *are ſoon Compted, that ſpends his time in* Reckoning *up his Neighbours* Faults.

To come now to the point of Intereſt: *There's nothing more Deſtructive to all Great, and Beneficial purpoſes, than this ſame Credulous, and over-flowing Vein of Tattling. It ſpeaks a man too* Weak *for* Counſel, *or* Conduct: *too* Open, *for* Friendſhip: *too* Impertinent *for* Society: *and Briefly, Good for nothing, but to make either Sport or Anger.*

In the next place I muſt apply my ſelf to Diſabuſe the more Compos'd, *and* Sober *of the* Miſtaken Party; *and that I hope to doe effectually, and in deſpight of* Prejudice, *and* Malice, *to prove my ſelf ſo far from ever complicating to the* King's Diſſervice, (*as I am* Sneakingly, *and* Falſly, *repreſented to have done*) *that on the Contrary, I undertake to make it cleer, and put it paſt Diſpute, that it hath been the Conſtant Buſineſs of my Life to doe my Duty to his Majeſtie. Nor will I Juſtifie, and Expoſe my* Actions *onely, but my very* Thoughts. *That is*; —— *If quite along the whole tract of the Quarrel, my* Judgement *ever* waver'd; *as to the Juſtice of the Cauſe*; - *or my* Affection Cool'd; —— *Nay more*; *if ever any Intereſt in Nature diverted me from* Proſecuting *that Duty, to the neglect of all things under Heaven beſide*; *may that Omiſſion be Eternally Imputed to me. If any man can Contradict me, let him.*

This way of Vindication *I have not either* Eaſily, *or* Sodainly, *reſolv'd upon, but having hitherto Subjected all pri-*

vate Injuries, and Passions, to a Superiour Principle of Publique Duty, I reckon that this Happy Change hath set me now at Liberty, to do my Self Right; and That, without offence to any Interfering, and Designing Parties. It is one Comfort too, the General Hope we have of seeing all those **Judasses** laid open, that have Betray'd and Sold their Master: but I should be exceeding sorry, to find my Self in the Black Catalogue.

I am prepar'd for twenty Cavils now; and to prevent Another Trouble, I'll Answer some of them beforehand.

If he be Innocent (saies one) a little time would have worn it out, without this Bustle. *Truly, for That; a little More, weares out my Life; and then again, my Patience is worn out allready.* I cannot think it one Jote Reasonable, to wayt an Age for what may be done in an Hour; and all the while, stand Begging That, as a Civility, which is my Due upon a score of Justice. Further; the Tedious Expectation blasts the Comfort of my Life, and Cankers all that's Conversable in my Nature. I have an Inward Shame, and Indignation to find my self suspected among worthy Persons, that takes me from the Common Offices, and Benefits of Society. I cannot Visit where I Would, and Ought, without a Blush: and these Forbearances, in many places, are taken to proceed from want of Inclination, or Good Manners; when (God he knows) out of an Honest Tenderness, to Others, I Crosse my Self, in what I Passionately Desire. So that betwixt Those whom I would not Trouble; and such as would prove

Troublesome

Troubleſome to Me, my Converſation's drawn into a very Narrow Compaſs: and That Retirement ſuffers Great miſtakes.

He's a Vain Fellow (*cryes another*) and Loves to hear himſelf Prate: — A wit — (*with a wry mouth*) *&c.* — *Why Soberly; I had rather be* That, *than a* Fool: *and* Either *of them, than a* Knave; *Let me but quit my ſelf of the* Laſt, *and I'll never Diſpute the other* Two. *The Queſtion is not* Wit, *but* Honeſty: *and the ſame thing might be as well apply'd to him that Pleads to ſave his Life.*

Indeed, my Scribling *gives a ſhrewd Offence; but alas, the People Bark at Strangers, like Whelps; for Company; although they never Saw, or Read, either the Perſon, or the Thing they Blame. To juſtifie my ſelf in this Particular; (my Conſcience bears me witneſs) I have not Publiſh'd any one Paper, but with a prime Relation to a Common good. As my Intent was Fair, ſo I demand, where the Effect was other of what I did? Have I Laſh'd any Perſon, whom This Convention ha's not Stigmatiz'd; or Branded any Party that might be Uſefull to the King's Deſign? What is't I have Propos'd, or Counſell'd, in Contradiction either to Honeſty, or Reaſon? (No matter for the Knack of wording it)*

Nay more, had but my Zeal been menag'd by a Perſon of Anſwerable Abilities, as to That very point of writing, I know not any thing could have brought more Advantage to the Buſineſs. Firſt; it was Neceſſary to Imprint Honeſt Notions in the People: *upon whoſe ayd depended the Deciſion of the Controverſie. Their* Inclinations *being Reaſon'd, and Encourag'd in-*

to Reſolves: the next point is how to direct the Seaſonable Execution of them. Let any man now ſhew me, by what other means than by the Preſs, 'twas poſſible to Engage ſo many Perſons, with ſo much Probability of good, and with ſo Little Hazzard of the Contrary; Eſpecially, at a time, when 6 Perſons could not meet, without as many Spyes upon their Actions.

I do expect a Thouſand pretty Epithets; *as* Formal, Self-conceited, Raſh, *&c. — but thoſe I look upon only as Looſe Grains, to make the reſt Weight. The Grand Diſcovery is ſtill behind.*

This Perſon *(cryes a third)* cannot believe himſelf ſo much in Danger of an Ill Opinion, as of being quite forgotten; and drives an Intereſt, in the little ſtory of his Gaoles, and Pamphlets, under pretenſe of a Neceſſity in Order to his Honour. *To This; I ſhall not ſtick to own, I wiſh it were ſo; and that his* Majeſty *would Judge in Favour of an* Unprofitable Servant, *that hath but done his* Duty. — *At Laſt; What if it were my Buſineſſe to put In among the Croud of Pretenders? But truly, my Ambition ſeeks only that* Allowance *of my Actions, which I* Deſerve, *not a* Reward, *beyond the* Merit *of them.*

When I firſt heard my ſelf ſuſpected for an Inſtrument *of* Cromwells: *his* Penſioner; *and a* Betrayer of his Sacred Majeſtie's Party, and Deſignes; *I could not chuſe but* Smile, *and allmoſt* Thank *the Author of that* Calumny, *that (in a man ſo Full of Faults) had fix'd a Charge There, where 'twas Impoſſible I ſhould be Guilty; (nay, or* Reputed *ſo) he might as well*

well have call'd me Whore, *as* Traytor. *But when I came to find that diverse of my nearest Friends were Caution'd; and with what Monstrous Secresie Designes were Carried, for Fear of Me; (even those Designs, that were the Common Talk of* Herb-women, *and* Porters) *I began then to Look about me; and in Conclusion some* 2. *or* 3. Women, *a* Fidler, *and a* Haberdasher, *I discovered. Upon further Enquiry I found that this Intelligence was as* Current *about the* King, *as* Here; *and that many Eminent Persons were possess'd with the same Opinion. It was not then a Season, to bring my self upon the Stage, when by Struggling, I should only have done a* Publique wrong, *and yet my* Self *no* Right: *Wherefore I respited that Purpose, in* Hope, *and* Expectation *of that* Freedom, *which (by Gods Blessing) we at this day enjoy. Nay, even at this Instant; were I not Absolutely satisfi'd, both from all Hands, and Arguments, that, in the World, I have no other way to help my self, but This; I would not go this way to work. I detest any thing of my own writing, upon the second View; or were my Vanity of that Complexion, I should not Entertain it, by Publishing so many Slubber'd, Hastie Copies as I have here Re-printed; and which (Heaven knows it) I intended only for the Plain, Honest businesse of disposing the* Common-People *to their Obedience. What* Good *they* Did, *I cannot tell; I'm sure, they* Meant *no* Hurt; *Nor did they tend to any thing, but what the People Did, at Last. I do but shew what I was doing* Then, *when I was Charg'd for Doing Ill. I'll not Excuse the* Phrase, *or* Conduct *of them; but they*

were

were done with Infinite Good-will, *and That discharges me.* (*To make the medly lesse* Intolerable, *I have Inserted some Cohærences of Story, and so Reduc'd all into an Orderly Relation.*)

When I have Begg'd Their Pardon, whom my Misfortunes *may have led into a* Mistake; *and Given them, Mine, to whose* Mistakes *I owe the sum of my* Misfortunes; *I shall bestow my Judgement too upon that* Spitefull *Race of People, that are so Bountifull to me; whose* Study, Pride, *and* Pleasure *tis, by* Scandal, *and* Detraction, *to Sink all Others down to the same Base, and Sordid Level with Themselves. They think the Blotting of Another, makes them Fair: and either to Discourse the* Ills *they* Know, *or to Calumniate the* Goodnesse *which they* Envy, *is all the virtue they pretend to. Nor is this* Impious Vanity *Contracted* Now, *as* Formerly; *by bearing a* Loose, Careless Hand, *upon a* Hot, *and* Dangerous Distemper; *but, I assure you, 'tis a* Sober Excellence, *that must be* Form'd, *and* Perfected, *by* Industry, *and* Education. *'Tis Laboured with such Care, and Paines, as we should study* Virtue, *and bears the Rise, and Processe of it.*

So *soon as my* Young-Master *writes* One and Twenty, *he Learns to* Swear, *and* Drink; —— *The several* Sorts *of* Wines; —— *and* Price *of* Whores; —— *The* Names *of all the Famous* Bauds *and* Vinteners; —— *Takes his* Small Poet *to him, and his* Humble Cousin; —— *gets his* Admission-Clap, *and There's his* Entrance. *For his*

his Firſt Month; he's but a kind of Property, *in Publique; a* Mute, *at* Beſt. *His buſineſſe being only to* Obſerve, — Harken, — Admire, *and to do* Reaſon. *Then Home he goes, and Comes the* Tavern-mode, *and* Diſcipline; *as his firſt Leſſon, He plants himſelf before the Glaſs, and tries how This* Oath, *or That* Whiff, *becomes him, — the* Supernaculum; — *then makes the Face that skar'd the Drawer; —— and a Million of the Sweeteſt Things beſide, that can be thought on. By this Time, the Gay Novice, is pretty well Un-ſhackled, from thoſe Severe, and* Troubleſome *Reſtraints of Piety, and Reaſon, which his Grave Tutour, or his good Old Mother put upon him. His next Step is into a* Club *of* Wits, (*Falſly ſo Called*) *or* Hectors, *and* There *the man offers at* Characters, *and* Quarrels: *Miſtaking, for the moſt part,* Scommes, *and* Blaſphemy, *for* Wit, *as well as* Rudeneſſe, *and* Pot-metal, *for true* Valour. Then; *Wo be to the* Church, *the* VVomen, *and the* Hackny-Coachman; *Nay, the poor Coachman, with his broken Head, Scapes beſt of the three.*

The Eternal Verity, *it ſelf, is made a* Fable; Religion *but a* Scar-Crow; — (*the Dark Impreſſion of a Superſtitious* Melancholy) *Nor does the Wretch content himſelf to* Abandon *Heaven, unleſſe he does* Invade *it too; and in the Throne of* Providence *it ſelf, ſet up the* Empire, *and* Divinity *of* Fortune. *How great an Honour is it to be Laſh'd by that Lew'd* Tongue, *that thus Affronts his Maker! and 'tis Obſervable, that a Notorious* Slanderer, *is very rarely ſeen with*

without a ſpice of Atheiſm. *The* Ladies *next muſt take their Turn; in a* Lampon *perhaps, or ſome ſuch thing: (that moſt* Un-chriſtian, *and* Un-manly *mixture of* Wicked, *and of* Brutiſh Folly) *'Tis but a Catalogue of their* Names, *no matter for the knowledge of their* Humours, *or their* Perſons, *and the thing's done. Theſe Impious* Liberties, *that give a* Horrour *to all* Serious Perſons, *are but their* Sport *that practice them: but then they make us ſome part of an Amends, in their more* Serious Humours; *which are not leſs* Diverting, *and* Ridicnlous.

IS *it not better than* Ten thouland Playes, *to ſee a* Formal *piece of* Animated Pageantry, *take the* Tables End, *and the* Great Chair, *and there* Declare, *and* Conſtitute *himſelf the* Supreme Arbitrator of all Cauſes. (*This* thing *you may Imagin now is* Chairman *to a* Committee *for* Scandals) *An* Old Ape, *Dreſt in a* Conſidering-Cap, *is not ſo* Grave, *and* Senſeleſſe, *as this* Fellow. *There's the* Severity *of* Cato *in his* Face; *but in his* Head *not* Brain *enough to qualifie a* Pariſh Clerk. *When he has call'd for* Pipes; — *The* Tother Drawer; — *and then, for the ſame* Racy-Wine *that He, and my Lord (ſuch a Thing) ſent for Laſt Night; Out comes the Spruce* Tobacco-Box, *with the* King's Picture *at it, which he* Wears, *and* Kiſſes, *not ſo much out of* Kindneſſe, *and* Devotion, *as for a* Hint, *and* Introduction, *to his* Politiques, *now at hand.*

Well, well — (ſayes he; Points to't and Pauſes) — *had*

had but This man follow'd my Advice at Worſter, h'ad done his Buſineſs: but we muſt never look for any Good, ſo long as ſuch, and ſuch, are of his Counſel. (and then 'tis Ten to One, he Names you Six of his Majeſtie's Beſt Friends, and Subjects) This is his Queue to the King's Health; He Drinks, Lights his Tobacco; and Then, betwixt the Pipe, and Bottle drops his Oracles. This man is Wiſe; — That, Valiant; — a Third, Honeſt; according as the goodly Inſpirations of Smoke, and Tipple ſhall move the Courteous Pledger. He tells you Storyes of 3. Troupes of Horſe; 5. Companies of Foot, that he had Tamper'd; — how much that Deſign ſtood him in; and by what Miracle he Scap'd Diſcovery. (he might have added, of a Thing Inviſible) You cannot mention One Unlucky Circumſtance, either in Order to the War, or in the Menage, and Perſuance of it, but he Pretends to tell you upon what Principle of State it Fayl'd: — What Towns were Sold, for how Much, and by Whom; who Betray'd all, at Naſeby, &c. — Nor can the World perſwade him, that ever any man Fought, that was not Kill'd. Ask his Opinion of the Roman Catholiques, he's able to produce you Sixteen Jeſuits, in Red-Coats, and Blew-Aprons, that are Employ'd to blow the Coal; and he knows further, where Lambert took his Orders. We're all Betray'd he cryes: Why here's L'eſtrange: — that to my Knowledge, has receiv'd 700 l. of the Protector's Money at a Clap. — Well —

Next to the Pleaſure of this cunning man Himſ[illegible] the Contemplation of his Auditory; who

ſit Gaping, *as if they took him for a* Tooth-Drawer; *ſecretly praying God to Aſſiſt their Memories, that they may Tell the ſame Tale, the Same way, where they come next.* (and here's the Original of Fame) *A man would think theſe Fopperies too Groſs to Gain a Credit; yet being Vented with a Travellers Authority, and Falling among Perſons that only have a General Notice of ſuch Men and Actions, without the Knowledge of Particulars; they ſeldom Dye in the Telling. One may ſuppoſe, that 'tis now* Sleeping-time; *when full of Drink, and Kindneſs, the Company diſperſes to their Quarters. 'Tis no Ill Scæne that followes next, betwixt this Serious Trifle, and the Good Wench his Land-Lady, that never failes, at his* First *Knock, and* Any *Hour, to let him In. The Greeting ſtill begins; — by what ſtrange Providence he Scap'd ſome Dreadfull* Danger. — (*the* Watch *perhaps, or the* Horſe-Guard) — *How many* Spyes *the* Protector, *or the* Counſel *has upon him: — what Paquets from him to his Majeſty, have been* Intercepted: *and then, how High they'll Hang him, if they Catch him. This Mollifies; Eſpecially, attended with a* Maud'len-Salutation. *That over; he betakes himſelf to his* Philoſophy, *and* Courage; Unbuttons; — *Strikes his hand upon his Breaſt; — Sets Her down by him; — Fills his* Pipe, *and tells his* Story; — *What he'll do for her when his* Majeſty *comes* In; — *What He told the* King, *and what the* King *told Him: and in the end, Talks himſelf out of a* Waking, *into a* Real *Dream. Theſe People are rare Company, in* Paper; *I cannot Leave the Subject, or at the Leaſt,*

Leaſt, before I do, I'll take a view, what Ground this Vaſt Pretence, and Vanity is Built upon.

What Hazzards *have theſe People under-gone, or what* Services *done, beyond the Loſs of Leather, with* Riding *Poſt, to carry the firſt News of other People's Actions; and at the Laſt, Spoyling the Tale in the Telling? If they can but attain that point of Honour, to get themſelves ſuſpected by ſome* Prick-ear'd Drawer; — *Provoke an Information that they are Dangerous Perſons; — and then walk by* Owl-light, *as if they were ſo; — Concern themſelves in* Proclamation for Baniſhment of Cavaliers, *&c.* —— *Talk Big, a Day after the Fair; — Kill a man when his Head's off; and after that the* King's Proclaim'd, *Defie the* Rump: —— *Theſe are the* Deſperate Adventures, and Meritorious ſervices, *which Entitle theſe Gentlemen to a Precedence in the Honour of the Cauſe, before all Others. No matter for the* Chaſe, *if they can but ſtrike in at the* Quarry; *and by a ſhameleſſe Impudence, Blaſt, and Supplant, the Honeſt Modeſty of thoſe, that have worn out their Lives and Fortunes in the Quarrel. Theſe are the Frank Diſpoſers of* Reward *and* Puniſhment. *Nay, there are Some, that deem an Act of* Oblivion, *as needfull in the Caſe of* Services, *as* Injuries: *But Theſe and Thoſe, I ſhall leave to the certain Fate of their Vain Follyes, (Diſcredit, and Contempt) Their Judgement does not weigh a Feather in the Ballance, againſt a Noble Thought. My care is only, not to Loſe the Wiſer, and the Worthier ſort; and for theſe Reaſons, I perſwade my ſelf I ſhall not.*

Thoſe that Have Suffered, will not be ſevere in their own Caſe, and paſſe a Cenſure even upon themſelves, in Blaming Me. Thoſe that have Never Suffered, do not know how ſoon they May; and Common Prudence will ſecure me There. Upon This Confidence, I ſhall Proceed, Only Premiſing; that what I Publiſh *now for my* Own *Sake, and to the* World; *was* Written *for a* Publique *End, and Faſhioned to the Humour of the* People.

An ADVERTISEMENT.

I Am here to Advertiſe, that as at firſt I entred upon This Pamphlet with great Unwillingneſs; ſo I have now at Laſt, rather choſen to break the Accompt, and Order of it, by Leaving out 34. *Pages of what I Intended, than Overcharge the Reader by Filling up of this Enſuing Vacancy. It is too much allready, of what is* Neceſſary; *and That which I had prepar'd for this Place, not being of ſo Abſolute Neceſſity to my preſent Purpoſe, I ſhall refer to a more proper Opportunity, and Leiſure.*



L'ESTRANGE

L'ESTRANGE HIS APOLOGY, &c.

TO begin with the Beginning of the *War*, and of my *Story*. My Judgement led me to the Kings Party, and That I Serv'd, without any other Aym, or Benefit, than the Discharge of my Duty. In 1644. I was Betray'd by a Brace of Villains (by name, *Lemain*, and *Haggar*) upon a Treaty to surprize *Linn Regis*. The former of these had been at *Oxford*, and there Solicited, and obtained the Promise of a Command at Sea; and Both of them were bound up under an Oath of Secrecy, and Fidelity, as Rank as words could make it. Being seized; and his Majestie's Commission

miſſion found about me: I was Hurry'd away, firſt to *Linn*; Thence to *London*; and There tranſmitted to the City-Court-Martial for my Tryal. (where Two Prime men were a *Saleman*, and an *Oſtler*) In this Extremity, nothing was left unſaid, that might Infame me: and with ſo ſtrong a Confidence too, that the beſt Friends I had, were ſtagger'd at it.

The *Commiſsion* was Decry'd for *Counterfeit*; The *Deſign*, *Raſh*, and *Fooliſh*: — The *Inſtrument*, as *much*; — The *Menage*, *worſe*; There were two that Affirmed, that I *Betray'd* all, with the Formalities, *How*, and upon *What Conditions*. I was at laſt brought to the Bar; and Charg'd, Firſt as a *Spy*; then as a *Traytor*, with all the Circumſtances of Rudeneſſe, and Severity Imaginable. Upon that Hearing, the Court Inclining to acquit me, It was propoſed, and Carry'd, under pretence of Favour to me, that Judgement might be deferred, and two dayes longer Reſpit given me for the advantage of my Defence. In this *Interim*, they had pack'd a Committee, and then Condemn'd me as *Traytor*; Many perſons Contributing to this Vote, that never heard one Syllable of my Tryal. My Sentence being paſs'd, I threw a Breviate of my Caſe among them, with theſe very Words; That *Since they would not Hear my Defence, they might Read it*; *That was it.* A young Red-Headed Fellow, burnt it. I was then caſt into *Newgate*; whence I diſpatch'd forthwith a Petitionary Appeal to the Lords; and Narratives of the Proceedings to the Principal of Both Houſes. At This Time I received a Friendly Viſit, from Mr. *Therowgood*, and Mr. *Arrowſmith*, (then of the *Synod*) with an Aſſurance, that they would do their utmoſt to Preſerve me, if I would but Petition to be Baniſh'd, and Take the Covenant, without which, there was no Poſſibility to Save me. My Anſwer was, (with a Reſpect to their Civility) to this effect: That if I could be ſo great a *Knave*, as ſoberly to Contradict my Conſcience, in order to the Saving of my Life; I was not yet ſo great a *Fool*, as to be Hang'd, with my Confeſſion about my Neck. The time appointed for my Execution, being the *Thurſday* following,

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The Lords Ordered my Reprieve, commanding MILLS, (the *Judge-Advocate*) to bring in my *Charge*, upon *Wednesday*. He appeared accordingly, but with an Excuse, that he wanted Time to Prepare it; however upon *Friday* it should be Ready. It was then Providentially Demanded; whether they meant to Hang me First, and then Charge me; and if they Intended to execute me in the Interim? He told them, Yes; For *the Commons had pass'd an Order that no Reprieve should stand good, without the Consent of Both Houses.* Hereupon, they desired a Conference; but the *Commons* had Voted also, *That no Private Businesse should be Mov'd in Ten dayes.* This notwithstanding; with great Difficulty, it was Debated, and my Reprieve confirm'd, for 14. daies: and after That, Prolong'd, in Order to a further Hearing. In this Condition of Expectancy, I lay almost 4. years, a Prisoner; and only an Order betwixt me, and the Gallows. I am the more Particular in This, because I have so many Honorable Witnesses, to prove the Truth of every Syllable I say: and yet in this Extremity, I had as much to do to Preserve my Credit among my Pretending, Friends, as to Defend my Life against the Malice of my Professed Enemies.

MY first Step out of *Prison*, was into *Kent*, and There, (God knows it) had my Soul depended upon a strict Account for every Thought, and Moment; I could not have employ'd more Care, and Zeal, in the Performance of my Duty, than I did: Yet in the very height of our Successe, being grown to a Considerable Body, even out of Nothing, It was Suggested that *L'estrange* was *False*: But That Opinion was soon Quieted, by a Discriminating Oath to the Commissioners at *Rochester*, which made those very Persons that had privately aspers'd Me, to withdraw; and diverse of them afterward appear'd openly against us. Upon the Dissolution of the Party, I Cross'd the Sea; and There I found the main Miscariage of the Businesse Cast upon Me; but still by Those that Ruin'd it Themselves. After a

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Six Month's tryal, by Word of mouth, and Letter, to Rectifie Miſtakes, I found my ſelf at length obliged to a more Publique way of doing it, and then, I Printed a Formal *Series*, and Relation of the Story; under the Title of my *Vindication*. This Diſcourſe prov'd as Effectual as I wiſh'd it; For, inſiſting only upon matter of Fact, with every Circumſtance of *Perſons*, *Time*, and *Place*, Material to my Purpoſe, there remain'd no Pretenſe for Contradiction; and yet I made it my great Care, as well to Diſperſe Copies, as to provoke a Reply, if any Syllable of what I ſaid would bear it. The Sum of all amounts to This. I gave a due Accompt of all Employments which the Country put upon me, nor could I reaſonably be charged as Cauſal to any Miſcariages, when there hapened none, while I had any Intereſt in the Buſineſſe. At laſt, upon the Conjunction of the County-Forces, finding ſome Dangerous, and Unſeaſonable diſagreements, even among themſelves; beſides ſome Scruples ſtarted againſt Strangers, I thought it the beſt Service I could do them, to render that Command I had, to the Commiſſioners, and leave Them to Reſpond, both for the Conduct, and the Iſſue of the Reſt. Nor having done This, did I quitt my Duty; but after the loſſe of *Maidſtone*, I mov'd the Committee at *Canterbury*, (although in vain) to give another Puſh for't. From Thence, I went to *Sandwich*, where finding the Town in a Tumult, and Abandon'd; The Sea Before me, and the Enemy Behind me, I took a Boat, and with much Difficulty, Eſcaped.

So much for KENT.

I Continu'd beyond Sea, from 1648. till the Army diſſolv'd the *Rump* in 1653. and then Returning, after 2 or 3. Months daily Attendance, I was Examin'd by a Committee of the Counſel, and in the End diſcharg'd from that Attendance, upon 2000*l*. Bayl, to Appear at any time within 12. Months, upon Summons.

After that Bond given, I challenge the World to ſay, where ever

ever I exchang'd Syllable either with the *Protector*, or his *Secretary*: or that ever I Communicated, Directly, or Indirectly, with any man of the Party, upon Publique Buſineſs. Nay more: Let any man prove that I did ever diſown my Firſt Judgement: — That ever I took any *Engagement*: —— That I ever held any Particular Converſe with any perſon of Differing Principles: ——— or, in Fine: — Let it appear that ever I either declined any Rationall means of ſerving my Prince, my *ſelf*, or Diverted *others* from it; Nay if I am not able to Evidence the contrary; and that I have ſteadily, and Poſitively employed all the Faculties, and Intereſts I had in the World, in his behalf, I am content to ſuffer, as if I had been the Murtherer of his Father.

During the Rule of *Cromwell*, there was ſmall Encouragement, to Form any Deſign, unleſſe upon his Perſon. For Betwixt diverſe Renegado-*Royalliſts*, and Mercenary Male-contents of his own Party, it was ſcarce poſſible to Act without Diſcovery: beſide, that he was *Quick* and *Cruell*. (Two great Advantages over a ſlaviſh People) His *Death* in 1658. opened the way moſt certainly to a *Change*, but That which entred upon it, in 1659. was of all others (I think) the Leaſt expected.

Severall of the Old Members finding the Councell of Officers at a Stand, (having Caſt off their new Protector) Sollicited the *Army* to Invite *their Return to a Diſcharge of their Truſt as before Apr.* 20. 1653. This was done, *May* 6 1659. and the next Day, (as if theſe Worthies had but held their Breath, from 53, to 59) they Blurted out a Declaration againſt *Kingſhip*, & Houſe of *Peers*. This Inſolence gave a fair Plea, and Opportunity to the People; and they diſpoſed themſelves to a generall Riſing in *Auguſt* following: but the Iſſue of all depending upon the City of *London*, where the *Militia* was placed in Ill Hands; much good was not to be expected. Sir *Henry Vane* had Liſted privately as many Separatiſts as he Pleaſed, and the City ſtood in more danger of that ſecret Faction, than of any viſible Power that ap-

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peared to over-awe it. The Citizens were generally Hearty in the Buſineſſe; and with the Allowance of ſeverall of them, (*Lambert* being upon his March toward Sir *George Booth*) I cauſed to be Printed this enſuing Declaration under the Title of

The DECLARATION *of the* CITY, *to the Men at Weſtminſter.*

GENTLEMEN,

WE have waited for the good you have promiſed us; with a ridiculous Patience: but we finde you Men of the *Originall*, and to be *read backward*. *We* are for the Religion of the *Heart*, not That of the *Noſe*; and for the *Law of* the *Land*, *not that of the Sword*; we are likewiſe for the *Charter* of the *City*, and for the *Liberties* of *Free-born Engliſhmen*; with which we are reſolved to Stand and Fall. It is high time for us to look to our ſelves, when we are comming under a Guard of your Chuſing, and when we have onely this Choice left us, whether we will *be deſtroyed our S* for, a *Maſſacre* is Party you have *f* at noon day; B for my Maſters, longer, we are n *of the Nation is T* and the miſchief *ceſſary*: for every Creature which either Loves *God*, or his *Country*, *Hates* You. You have not ſo few as 200000 Enemies in This Town, to diſpute the Quarrell with ſome halfe a dozen of you; not to multiply words, your *Practices* are ſuch as a *Generous* Nature cannot *Brook*, and your *Power* ſo *deſpicable*, that a *Coward* needs not *Fear* it. You have made the City but a Cage of Broken Merchants; Tradeſmen are ready to Periſh for want of Buſineſſe;

IRREGULAR

PAGINATION

ſineſſe; and their Families for want of Bread; nor have the Poor any other Employment than to Curſe you. Thoſe few amongſt you that have any thing, are but Covered with the Spoiles of the Nation, and out of the Scum of the People you have compoſed your inconſiderable Reſt. Well Gentlemen play your own Cards your ſelves, Wee'll play Ours: you'll have no Single Perſon in the *State*, wee'll have none neither in the *City*; at leaſt, we'll have no *White-Hall-Major*; we will neither extend our Priviledges an Inch, nor abate an Hair of them. And in the matter of Blood-ſhed, ſo let Heaven proſper Us, as we ſhall proceed tenderly: But if there be no other way left us than violence whereby to preſerve our ſelves in our Juſt Rights, what Power ſoever ſhall preſume to Invade the Priviledge of a Citizen, ſhall finde 20000 Brave Fellows in the Head on't.

This we doe Unanimouſly Remonſtrate to You, and to the World to be our Firm, and Finall Reſolution.

THis Diſpute Laſted not Long; and *Lambert's* return put an End to any further thoughts of ſtirring in the City, for that Time.

The next Opportunity of Moving, was upon the Diſpatch of the Army into the *North* to oppoſe *General Monck*: The Government being then Lodg'd in a Committee of 23 Officers of the Army: which groſs Uſurpation, together with the *New Militia* which they had Impoſed upon the City, (*Nov.* 11.) put the Citizens upon an Abſolute Neceſſity of Endeavour to Free themſelves: To which end, they reſolv'd to Petition the *Common Counſell*, for their Aſſiſtance towards the obteining of a *Free-Parliament*, according to the Antient Conſtitution of the Nation. A Petition was accordingly *Drawn*, *Subſcribed*, and *Preſented*; but by reaſon of ſome pretended Informality in the Addreſs, it was laid aſide. This Repulſe made the Petitioners more Eager than they would have been; eſpecially finding themſelves Betray'd

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tray'd by diverſe of thoſe *Perſons* to whom they had committed the Care of their Protection.

Upon Monday, *Dec.* 5. Horſe and Foot were diſpatch'd into the City, by Violence to hinder the Re-enforcement of the Petition, where they behaved themſelves with an Inſolence, and Barbariſm, not to be expreſs'd. In this Action, had the Magiſtracy been but half ſo careſull to Vindicate the *Honour* of the City, as they were to ſave the *Enemies* of it, not a ſoul of them had ſcaped.

After ſome 5 or 6 Dayes expectation what this Affront would produce; I thought it not amiſſe, if I could uſe ſome meanes to Quicken them; and thereupon I Printed a Paper Entitled,

The Engagement and Remonſtrance of the City of London.

DECEMBER 12. 1659.

ALthough, as *Citizens*, wee are *reduced* to a *Neceſsity* of Violence; and as *Chriſtians*, obliged to the *Exerciſe* of it; Unleſs we will rather proſtitute our *Lives* and *Liberties*, *Fortunes* and *Reputations*; Nay, our very *Souls* and *Altars*, to the Luſts of a *Barbarous* and *ſacrilegious* Enemy: We have yet ſo great a tenderneſs for Chriſtian bloud, as to leave unattempted no means of probability to ſave it. This is it which hath prevayl'd with us to Declare, Firſt, to the World, what we *Propoſe*, and *Reſolve*, ere wee proceed to further Extremities: and to *ſatisfie* the *Publique*, as well in the *Reaſons* of our Undertakings, as to *Juſtifie* our *ſelves*, in the *Menage* and *Event* of them.

We find, in the Midſt of us, *the Houſe of Prayer converted into a Den of Theeves*: Our *Counſels* Affronted by Armed *Troups*, our *Fellow-Citizens knock'd on the head, like Doggs*, at their own doors,

for

for not ſo much as *Barking*: Nay, 'tis become Death, now, to deſire to Live; and Adjudg'd Treaſon, but to Claim the benefit of the Law againſt it. Witneſſe thoſe *Infamous Murders* committed, but Monday laſt, upon our *unarmed friends*: and the glorious *Inſolencies* of that *Rabble*, towards ſuch of the reſt, as they ſeized, and carried away. But this is nothing: to make us a Compleat *Sacrifice*, we are to bee *Burnt* too: a thing, not only *threatned*, in the Paſſion of the Tumult, but Soberly *intended*; for they have layd in their Materials for the work already: (a *prodigious Quantity of Fire-Balls in Pauls*, and *Greſham College*) Briefly, We are deſign'd for *Fire*, and *Sword*, and *Pillage*: and it concerns us now, to look a little better to our *gratious Guards*. (Not to inſiſt upon the loſſe of Trade, how many thouſand Families have nothing now to do, but *Begg*, and *Curſe* theſe wretches?) The *Honour* and *Safety* of the *City* lies at ſtake: and God ſo bleſſe us, as wee'll fall together. Wee will not live to ſee our Wives, and Daughters raviſh'd: our Houſes Rifled, and our Children Beggars, that ſhall only live to Reproach their cowardly Fathers: and all this done too by a People, which we can as *eaſily deſtroy*, as *mention*: by a Party, ſo *barbarous*, and ſo *Inconſiderable together*, that, certainly, no creature can be *mean* enough, either to *ſuffer* the *one*, or *fear* the *other*. In this Exigency of Affairs, we have found it both our *Duty* and our *Intereſts* to *Aſſociate*; and wee deſire a Bleſſing from Heaven upon us, no otherwiſe, than as we do *vigorouſly*, and *faithfully* perſue what we here Remonſtrate.

First; *We do engage our ſelves, in the preſence of Almighty God, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the Rights and Liberties of the City of* LONDON; *and if any perſon that ſubſcribes to this Engagement, ſhall be moleſted for ſo doing*; *We will unanimouſly, and without delay, appear as one Man to his Reſcue.*

Next; we demand, that all ſuch *Troups* and *Companies*, as doe not properly belong to the *Guard* of the *City*, not receive *Orders* from the *lawfull Magiſtrates thereof*; — that ſuch Forces *withdraw* them.

themſelves from the Liberties, within 12. hours after the Publication of This: upon pain of being deemed *Conſpiratours*, and *of being Proceeded againſt accordingly*, (for to this extent, both of Judgement, and Execution, is every Individual qualified in his own defence)

We are next, to demand the Enlargement of our Fellow-Citizens, which were taken away by Force, and in a tumultuous manner, contrary to the known Laws of the Place, and Nation.

This being performed, we ſhall acquieſce, in the Enjoyment of thoſe Liberties, which we will not loſe but with our Lives. In Fine, to remove all Impediments of the peace we deſire: Wee do undertake, both as Men of Credit, and Juſtice; that ſuch of the Souldiers as will betake themſelves to honeſter Employments, ſhall receive their Arrieres from the City, and ſuch a further care of their future well-being, as is ſuitable to the Neceſſities of the One part, and the Charity of the Other.

THis Paper was ſo well received, that it encouraged me to follow it with Another, Entitled,

The Final Proteſt, and Senſe of the City.

HAving diligently peruſed two *Printed Papers*, bearing *date*, the 14th. *of this inſtant December*: The One, in form of *a Proclamation concerning the ſummoning of a Parliament*: The Other as an *Order of the Common Counſell, commanding the City to acquieſce in expectation of That Parliament*: We finde therein contained, matters, ſo contrary to the *Honour* of the *Nation*, and to the *Freedom* of the *City*, that we ſtand obliged, both as *Engliſhmen*, and as *Citizens*, to Proteſt, againſt the *Impoſitions* of the *former*, as *Illegal*, and the *Conceſſions* of the *Latter*, as a direct *Combination* againſt us. Theſe *Two Papers* are *ſeconded* by a *Third*:

(for

(for the *Two* are *One*, both in *effect*, and *design*,) and That is, a *Proclamation of Banishment*, directing to the late Kings party, under the notion of the Common Enemy: so that there's no love lost betwixt the *Committee of Safety*, and the *Common Counsel*, when the *General* provides for the *Peace* of the *City*, and the *Mayor* for the *Safety* of the *Army*; not to argue *Acts* of *Oblivion*, and the violation of *Publique faith* in the case: that they *Conditioned* for their *Lives* and *Liberties*, and *Compounded* for their *Fortunes*. This is not our *Concern*, what *they do* suffer; but what *wee may*, *if we trust those*, *that Keep no Faith with them*: And that wee'll take a care of: When *They* are Gone, then *Wee are* the *Common Enemy*; *So are the Laws of God*, *and of the Nation*, *and such is every Man that loves them*. What this *Malignant party* is, these People talk of, we neither *Know*, nor *Meddle*; the *Gentry* 'tis we Live by, and by the Lawes of *Gratitude*, and *Hospitality*, we are bound to *Protect* them, and resolved to doe it, within our Walls, against any other Power, than that of the Known Law. The short of the Designe is This; a *Danger* is pretended to the *City*, from the late *Kings party*, and to prevent the mischief, the Kind *Committee Banishes the Gentlemen*; with Order to the *Mayor to make strict searches for Delinquents*. Now in persuance of this pretious Order, our *Houses* must be *forced*, and *we Disarmed*, and then, our *throats cut*, *to preserve the City*. Let those that would be *Chronicled* for *Slaves*, and *Fools*, *submit to suffer this*, *and after that Infamous Hour*, *may a Yellow Coat*, *and a Wooden Dagger*, *be the Badge and Distinction of a Citizen*. To conclude, *We* our selves *are That City*, so much the Care and Cry of the Proclamation; and *This* is our *Unanimous sense*, and *Resolve*. The *Army* proposes to *Pillage*, and *Murther us*, the *Mayor*, and his worthy *Advisers*, *Ireton*, &c. — are to hold our *Hands*, while They give the *Blow*; So, that we are now to provide both against *Force* and *Treason*; having *One* Enemy within our *Walls*, and *Another* in our *Counsels*. But withall, we have our *Swords* in our *Hands*, and our *Brains* in our *Heads*; and only to *Strike* the *One*, and to *Disbelieve* the *Other*, is to *Subdue*, and *Disappoint* them *Both*.

We

We do therefore declare to the World, that we will by *Violence* oppose all *Violence* whatsoever, which is not warranted by the Letter of the *Established Law*: & that in persuance of this Duty, both toward the *Nation*, and *City*, an *Insolent Souldier*, and *Apostate Magistrate* shall be to us as the same thing. — Not to word it much further, as we will not be *Baffled*, by *Affronts*, so neither will we be *Fooled*, by *Flatteries*.

After the Loss of Trade and Liberty, a vast expence of Blood, and Treasure; After *many Injuries received*, *more threatned*, and *none returned*, We made a sober, and Regular *Application*, to the *Authority* of the *City*, for *Redress*. This they *Promised*, and wee *Expected*, till at last, instead of a *Reparation for past Wrongs*, or a *Security* against *worse to come*; We are paid with an *Expectation* of a *Parliament* in *January*. This is a Logique we understand not. It is in *English*, *Lye still*, *till we cut your throats*. It would be well to commit the disposition of our Fortunes, to those people, that are at this Instant designing an Execution upon our Persons; and to requite those *Worthies*, that have already *Robb'd* us of *all* we have *Lost*, with the *Offer* of that little *Rest* they have *Left*. But this will not doe our Businesse; we will not have our *Murtherers*, for our *Judges*: nor will we *wait*. That *Parliament* they *babble* of so much, will scarce *Vote* up the *City* again out of Ashes, nor all the Saints in that holy Assembly, bring the *poor Cobler* into the world again, that was *Kill'd* by order of his *Brother Hewson*. No, the *Cheat* is too stale, and wee are Determined to Redeem our selves; but with this Caution, We do solemnly professe, that we will exercise all the Tenderness which possibly the Case will bear. The *Common Souldier* is engaged rather out of a *Heedless*, than *Malicious Interest*: We do therefore Protest, that such of those as shall not evidence their *Malice*, by their *Obstinacy*, shall receive a Fair Consideration: But, for such as *Lead* them, we do *Resolve*, not to allow Quarter to any one of them, that draws his Sword in the Quarrel: And in Order to the Quicker, and Gentler Dispatch of the Business: Wee conclude with a Text, *Fight neither with Small*

nor

nor Great, but with the King of Israel. And so God give a Blessing to the Endeavours of all Honest Men.

THis Sheet gave great offence to the Saints, and particularly to *Titchborn*, who examined the Matter himself, and ordered the punishment of the Women that sold it; after many Personal Abuses, beside the Loss of their Copies.

Dec. 18. Divers persons of Quality were seised in the City, by the Soldiers, and in a Barbarous, Unseemly manner, Stript, and Driven Naked to the Mewes.

Soon after, comes Intelligence, that the Forces employ'd to Reduce *Portsmouth*, were joyn'd with the *Fugitive Members*, and upon their March for *London*: whereupon I caused to be Printed as followes.

The Resolve of the City.

Decemb. 23. 1659.

OUr Respects to *Peace*, and *Order*, are too notorious to be questioned, since by the meer Impressions of *Charity* and *Obedience*, wee have thus long suspended the *Justice* wee owe to our *Selves*, together with that *Vengeance*, which the *Blood* of our Murthered Companions requires at our hands. Nor have these Principles of Publique tenderness been lesse Eminent, upon our *Judgements*, than upon our *Passions*; For, we have as well *Believ'd*, in *Contradiction* to Evidence of *Experiment*, as wee have *Suffered*, in *Opposition* to the very Elements, and Dictates of *Humanity*. *Witness that Execrable Monday* (sacred to the Eternal Infamy of this City) even *Then*, when we had that Enemy at our *Mercy*, toward whom, by the Rights of Nature, and of Generosity, wee were not bound to exercise *any*, even Then, I say, in the very *Heat*, and *Course* of an Honest, and Powerfull *Indignation*, we returned *Quietly*, to our Houses, upon the first Notice, that

the *Authority* of the *City* would have it ſo. But it is likewiſe true, that this Aſſurance was added to the Meſſage, *viz. That the Common counſel was ſenſible of our Grievances, and would duly conſider them.* Since this, we find nothing done in perſuance of that Promiſe; but on the Contrary, Injuries are Multiplyed upon us; and thoſe of that Day, ſerve but as Arguments of Encouragement to Greater. *Some* of us *Killed*, *Others Wounded*, and *lead in Triumph Naked* through the Streets: Two or three Hundred Thouſand Perſons *Looking on, to celebrate the Conqueſt, and the Shame.* A Citizens Skull is but a thing to try the Temper of a Souldiers Sword upon; Give us every Man a *Red-coat* for a *Caſh-Keeper*, and the work's done. They're come within a Trifle on't already; and all this while, an *Order* to be *Quiet*, is all our Patient Maſters will afford us. Give us an Order that may make us *Safe*, (although we need not *Aſk*, what we can *Give* our ſelves) *Perſwade* theſe people to be *Gone*, or *Bid us* Drive them out; What *Law* made *Pauls*, and *Greſham Colledge*, *Garriſons*? If nothing elſe will do, we'll do't our ſelves: We have *Engaged*, and *ſworn* the *Vindication of the City*, and nothing can *Abſolve* us from the *Oath* we have taken. This muſt be done betimes too, 'twill come too late elſe, to prevent, either the Neceſſity of a Tumult, or the greater Miſchief, of a Supine and Credulous Security. *A Parliament* in *January* will do us no more good, than a Cordial will do him that was *Hanged* laſt Seſſions. Our Senſe at Large, we delivered to the world, in a Paper, Entituled, *The Final Proteſt, and Senſe of the* City: Which is Publique enough, notwithſtanding the great Deſign uſed to ſuppreſs it, and the Inſolences of divers perſons, diſaffected to the good of the City, toward thoſe that ſold them. *To That we adhere.* That *Proteſt* of *Ours*, produced *Another* from the *Common counſel*, of the 20th. Current, to which ſomething ought to be ſaid. The ſum of that Order is, but in effect, the Juſtification of the Lord Mayor, in the matter of Prudence and Integrity: we do not Deny, but finding our ſelves abandoned to all ſorts of Outrages, by the Cold Proceeding of the Court in our behalf,

we

we were transported to some bitter Reflections: Involving the *present Mayor*, with his more Criminal *Predecessor Ireton*, in the Imputation. We shall not more *Gladly find* it a Mistake, than *Readily Confess* it one, when we reap the Effects of that Care for the Good of the City; but so long as *Wee* are *tyed* up from all *Lawfull Defence*, and the *Publique Enemy* at *liberty* to practise all *Unlawfull Violences* upon us, we desire to be Pardoned, if we suspend in the Case.

The Cloze indeed is very Noble, and worthy of the Court, where they Declare, *For the Fundamental Lawes, and the Protestant Religion, &c.— and in fine, to endeavour the convening of a Free Parliament*, in order thereunto. But in Contradiction to this Resolve, the Committee of Officers have yesterday published a Paper, Entituled, *The Agreement, &c.* —— fairly telling us, That we are to be Governed by People of their Chusing, and by a Model of their framing, without any regard had to the *Practice*, and *Reason* of the *Antient Laws*, or to the *Interest*, and *Liberty* of every *Freeborn English-man*. This Usurpation is to bee considered in its due place; at present it concerns us, to hinder them from making the Slavery of the City, their first Step towards the Subjection of the Nation. The seasonable Care of This, we do Humbly, and Earnestly recommend to the *Court of Common-counsel*; Our Hopes are, that we are now fallen into Better hands, and if our Magistrates will but Command us, they have an Hundred Thousand Lives in readiness to Engage for them. If we should be so unhappy, as to be still delayed; wee do however wash our hands of the Consequences: And so *God Direct and Deliver us.*

OBserving how much more *Unanimous* the *Army* was to *Destroy Us*; than *We*, to *Save* our *Selves*: and Finding nothing extant of Direction to the *Necessary* purpose of an *Universal Union*: I presumed to Publish a Paper, containing what I

judg'd might Rationally *Promote* ſuch an *Agreement*, under the Notion of a thing already done. It runs Thus.

A Free Parliament *Propoſed by the* City *to the* Nation.

Gentlemen,

HAving certain Intelligence of great Preparations againſt us from *Abroad*; together with the daily and wofull experience, of a more Barbarous, and Ignoble Enemy at *Home*: we have bethought our ſelves of an Expedient, which may at once, both *Secure*, and *Deliver* the Nation from the *Danger* of the *One*, and from the *Tyranny* of the *Other*.

In order to this effect: *The* City *of* London *hath conſtituted* 4 *Commiſſioners, to Treat Reſpectively with the reſt of the People of* England, *in the behalf of their invaded Rights, and in ſuch manner to Proceed, as to the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall appear moſt convenient.*

In perſuance of this Appointment; *We Four*, (whoſe Names, and Authority you ſhall find in a Schedule, to this annexed) do, in the *Name*, and by the *Commiſſion* of the *City* of *London*, *earneſtly and unanimouſly deſire a General Aſſiſtance, toward a work of a Publique and Univerſal Benefit.* The tranſaction of this Affair, we have committed to Perſons, eminent both for Honeſty and Fortune: and to gain Diſpatch, as well as Privacy, wee have at the ſame Inſtant, and by ſafe hands, diſperſed True and Exact Copies of Theſe to you, throughout *England* and *Wales*. Our Application ſhould have been more Regular, but for three or four falſe Brethren in our Counſels, whom wee dare not confide in. *We find few the Honeſter for the Quarrel, that are the Richer for it*; and *no other Enemies to the Peace of the Nation, but the Gainers by the Ruine of it.* Upō a due ſcanning of the whole matter, we have concluded, that *nothing can reſtore us but a Free Parliament*: Nor can any thing compoſe that, but a *Free Vote*, without either *Force*, or *Faction*. The moſt likely means to procure this, will be a *general Engagement*,

Engagement, to endeavour it. We ask no more, than that *you* will follow our Example. That Paper, which we commend to you, is already ſubſcribed by many Thouſands of this City. If you Approve it, doe as much; and if you think Fit; *chuſe out of every County Two Perſons of a Known Integrity, that may be Still Among us, and at hand, to preſerve a fair Intelligence betwixt us.* No longer ſince, than Yeſterday, the *Conſervators of our Liberties*; Hewſon *and his Mirmidons*, put an affront upon us, and with ſome miſchief too, upon this very Point: The very mention of a *Free-Parliament* enrages them, and there is Reaſon for it. *Their Heads are forfeited, and if the Law Lives, They muſt Periſh.* But all this while, we're in a good condition, when the *Trangreſſors* of the Laws muſt be the *Judges* of it. The very *Boyes*, and *Women* had deſtroyed the Party to a man, but that with much adoe, we hindred them. The Truth is, in ſuch a Confuſion, more honeſt blood might have been ſpilt, than that Rabble was worth. Upon this, the City is grown ſo impatient of the Souldiers, that 'tis to be feared they will ſodainly break out into an open violence upon them. They have already entred into a ſolemn Engagement to that purpoſe: But we ſhall doe our beſt to quiet them, till we receive your Anſwer. In Fine; the *End* is *honorable*, and we deſire the *means* that lead to it may be ſo too. Let nothing be omitted that may ſave blood; The Army is neceſſitous, and without pay, they muſt or Steal, or Periſh. Let *us conſider, they are our Countrey-men*, and *many* of them, (the *neceſſity apart*) *our Friends. Let ſuch a courſe be taken, that ſo many of them as ſhall contribute to the Advantage of a Free Election, may without either Fraud, or Delay receive their Arriers.* We ſhall do our part in the Contribution, and in all Offices of Relation to a *Religious* and *Lawfull Settlement*, as freely engage our *Lives* and *Fortunes* with you, as we do our *Pens* in this Profeſſion to you, that we are

True Engliſh men, and your Servants.

Decemb. 6. 1659.

THE

THE ENGAGEMENT.

WE the Free-born people of England, *having for many years laſt paſt, been ſubjected in our Conſciences, Perſons, and Eſtates, to the Arbitrary, and Lawleſſe Impoſitions of Ambitious, and Cruell-minded men; & finding our ſelves at preſent, in danger to be Irrecoverably loſt; partly by Invaſions, threatned us from Abroad, and partly by Factions encroaching upon us at Home, without the ſeaſonable mediation of a* Free-Parliament: *We do Declare, that we will by all Lawfull means Endeavour the Convening of it, and that we will, afterward, Protect the Members of it as the Blood of our own Hearts. we do further Engage, in the Preſence of Almighty God, that if any perſon or Perſons whatſoever ſhall preſume to Oppoſe us; or to impoſe upon us any other Government, Inconſiſtent* with, *or Deſtructive* to *the Conſtitution of Parliaments, we will proſecute him, or them, as the Betrayers of the Peoples Rights, and Subverters of the Fundamentall Laws of the Engliſh Nation.*

To the Honorable the Commiſſioners *of the* City *of* London, *for the Liberties and Rights of the Engliſh Nation.*

GENTLEMEN,

HAving already ſatisfied you by what *Authority* we Act, it concerns us next, to acquaint you, to what *purpoſe* we are *Sent*, and what it is, which we have in Charge to deliver unto you.

Your *Propoſals for the Settlement of the Nation*, (and That, by the means of a Free-Parliament) have been as Faithfully, and Generally communicated, as you intended they ſhould; as Kindly received as you could wiſh; and the whole matter brought to as ſpeedy an iſſue as was poſſible for an Affair of that Weight, and Quality to admit. In Teſtimony hereof, *We are to give you the Thanks of the People of England*; and to aſſure you, that they are

are not leſs *pleaſed* with your *Method* of promoting the Publick Good, than they are *Obliged* by thoſe *Affections* which have diſpoſed you to endeavour it. Particularly, they are exceeding glad to find, that the City hath entruſted ſuch Perſons in the Buſineſſe, as, beſide all other due Qualifications for the Employment, have This alſo; that they were never Parties in the Quarrell. It hath been our Care likewiſe, to proceed by the ſame rule; and for this Reaſon, *If Both Parties ſhould be taken in, there might (poſſibly) be ſome Animoſities ſtarted ſufficient to obſtruct the Proceeding:* And again, *ſhould Either of them be left out, the matter would (probably) be carried by Faction.*

This we are commanded to repreſent, rather as a *Fair Expedient*, than an *Abſolute Neceſſity*.

In the next place, we are to inform you, that the Engagement you ſent us, found ſo prone a Reception, that we reckon it, with us, a greater difficulty to Find an Enemy to the Intent of it, than to Subdue any whatever, that ſhall preſume to appear againſt the Promoters of it. We do however hold our Selves bound to aſſure you, that we are perfectly reſolved to Joyn in the Charge, and Hazard of the Diſpute, with you: and that we are as Unanimous in This Cauſe, as if the Treaſure of the Nation had but one Maſter, and the Strength of it, were but directed by the Same Mind. The Liſt of the Subſcribers, we have here in Town: If you deſire to ſee it you may: but if Otherwiſe, we offer to your Prudence to conſider, if it may not be of more Advantage, and Security to the Buſineſſe in hand, rather totally to conceal the Subſcribers, if not alſo the Commiſſioners themſelves. For the Thing it ſelf, we are not only Willing, but Deſirous to make That Publique. It is of ſo Honeſt, and Reaſonable a Nature, that no Man *Dares* oppoſe it, who dares not be Damn'd; no man *Will*, that deſerves to Live upon Engliſh ground: and to conclude, no Man *Shall*, and eſcape Unpuniſh'd. *Parliaments are the Conſtitution Fundamentall of the Nation*, the *Safeguard*, and the *Honor of it:* nor are we more concern'd to *Support* them, than to

be

be wary leſt we *Miſtake* them. We are to Diſtinguiſh betwixt *Names* and *Things*, that we be not govern'd by Deluſions; Where have we a greater *Cheat*, than that which ſtiles it ſelf the *Publique Faith? Greater Subverters* of our *Liberties*, than ſome that write themſelves, the *Conſervators* of them? 'Tis not for 40 people to call themſelves our *Repreſentative*. Is't not enough that they have Robb'd us, unleſs they Govern us too? They'll ſay we *Choſe them*, ſo did we chuſe above 300 *more*; and we'll be *Rul'd* by *All*, or *None of them*. Without more adoe, having Formally aſſured you of an abſolute *Concurrence* from the *Nation*, as to what they have received in Propoſition from you: It remains now, only that we recommend ſome *Additionals* to you, which we conceive may be of ſome Benefit to the Common Intereſt of the whole.

In the Firſt Place we Propoſe, *That no Petition* be preſented to this *Pretended Parliament, from the City of* London, *and we Undertake as much for our Selves.*

Secondly, That no Levies of Men, or Monies, be ſuffered, in perſuance of their Pretended Acts; *and in caſe of any* Force *attempted upon the* Refuſers, *that we immediately* Arm *our Selves, and by Violence Repell it.*

Thirdly, we judge it very fit, in regard of Dangers Imminent, both Forein, and Domeſtique, That a Free Parliament, *be* ſpeedily convened; *the* Time *and* Manner of Summons *inſtantly agreed upon, with a* Salvo Jure *to all Intereſts.* —— —— (*By a Free Parliament, we underſtand, an Aſſembly of ſuch Perſons as by the Law are Qualified to chuſe, without any other Reſtreint than what the Law impoſes.*) *Not that we claim to our ſelves the Right of Calling Parliaments; but the Impoſſibility of procuring one Regularly; and the Abſolute Neceſsity of having ſomething like one Suddenly:* —— *This* is enough to acquit *us before God and Men.* By theſe means, all Differences may be compoſed, all Parties reconciled; and to Theſe purpoſes we are ready to Sacrifice our Lives, and Fortunes.

GENTLEMEN,

January 3. 1659. *We are your faithfull Servants.*

Upon

UPon the 17 of *Jan.* Mr. *Bampfield*, the *Recorder* of *Exceter*, delivered a Leading *Declaration*, to the Pretended Speaker, from the Gentry of *Devonſhire*: Demanding the *Readmiſſion* of the *Secluded Members*, and *filling* up of *Void Places*: without any *Previous Engagement*. This Netled the *Rump*, and Drew from Them, Another Declaration, (*Jan.* 23.) wherein they expreſs'd all Tenderneſs poſſible for the Publique, in a Fawning, Canting way: and eſpecally Inſiſting upon ſuch Particulars, as might render their Deſign of ſetling in a *Free-State*, the more Plauſible to *General Monck*: who was now as far as *Leiceſter* toward *London*.

This Declaration, moved me to *Print* this Enſuing *Paper*.

A PLAIN CASE. Jan. 24. 1659.

IT were no hard Matter to Trace the *Courſe* of *Government*, thorough all it's ſeveral *Forms*, and *Mixtures*, from the very *Fountain* of it; and to *Deduce* the *Story*, from it's *Original* in *Paradiſe*, down to this wretched *Place*, and *Inſtant*. The *Sanction*, and *Aſſignment* of it being proved, (That the *Almighty Wiſdom* placed ONE RULER over the World) Enquiry might be made into the *Reaſons*, and *Equity* of thoſe enſuing *Changes*, which, either *Force*, *Craft*, or *Agreement* afterward produced. To come a little neerer *Home*: much might be added, concerning *our Religion*, *Parliaments*, *Magna Charta*, *&c.* —— but the *Preſſe* groans under the *Subject*, and the *Nation* under the Diſpute. *Conviction* puts an end to *Argument*. The *Queſtion* is no longer, *Right*, but *Power*; and our *Reaſonings* are only Anſwered with *Blowes*. It's true, —— in the Infancy of the Quarrell, when *Rebellion*, *like a Painted Whore*, *under the Maſque of Loyalty*, *and Conſcience*, *Cheated the People into an Engagement*: *when onely ſome Miſ-governments*, *in Church and State were to be Reformed*; *and that Pretence back't with a Thouſand Oaths*, *to ſtrengthen the Deluſion*: *Dominion and Obedience*, *Law and Conſcience*, were then a *Proper*, and a *neceſſary Theame*, *to undeceive*

the Nation, but now 'tis out of Seaſon. The *Sword's* the onely *Judge* of Controverſies. Our buſineſſe is, *to Talk more Senſibly, and leſſe Learnedly*. Alas ! to tell the *Simple*, that which they can *never underſtand*, and the *Wiſe*, that which they *know already*; Who's the *Better* for't? The *Injuries* we ſuffer, are *Notorious*; and *Underſtood*, as univerſally, as *Felt*. The skill would be, to find out a *Fair Remedy*, for a *Foul Diſeaſe*. In order to that, I ſhall be *Plain*, and ſhort : *Prove* what I ſay, and keep my ſelf within the Compaſſe of my Page. This *Nation* is at this inſtant, upon the Brink of a *Reprochfull*, and *Ridiculous* Condition of *want*, and *ſlavery*: Nor is the *Truth* of our Calamity more evident, than the *Reaſon* of it. *Half* the Revenue of the Land is already ſhared among the *Saints*, and in Reward, for *robbing* us of *That*, we are to *Give* the *Reſt*, and purchaſe our *Bondage*, dearer, than our Fore-Fathers did their *Liberties*. Indeed, a *Hundred Thouſand Pound a Moneth*, when we have ſcarce Money left for Bread, is a modeſt Proportion: and to endear the Propoſition to us, 'tis to maintain a warre againſt the eſtabliſhed Law, and conſummate our Thraldome : After this Tax is paid, they'll Ask no more, but Take the reſt without the Ceremony : and we deſerve to Loſe All, If we Levy This. By *Violence*, they keep themſelves *In*, and their *Fellowes Out*; By *Violence*, they *Sit*, and *Vote*, and *Execute*. They're not the Twentieth part of thoſe we Choſe; and then the *Quality* of the Faction, is as Inconſiderable, as the *Number*. The Nation looks upon them, as a Herd of *Wolves*; *they live by Blood and Rapine, and 'tis the Publique Intereſt to Hunt them*. They are too *Few* for us to *Fear*, too *Falſe* to *Truſt*, too *Wicked*, and *Imperious*, to *Obey*. 'Tis not their *Janizaries* that will doe their Buſineſſe, when the whole *Body* of the *People* is united againſt them. The very *Souldier* that hath *Raiſed* them, *Hates* 'em; as being, at once, *Inſtrumental* to their *Guilt*, and to their *Puniſhment*. They are neither to be Obliged by Oathes, nor by Benefits. How meanly have they treated the very Officers that preſerved, and Reſtored them; and Perfidiouſly,

ouſly, all that ever Truſted them! Thoſe Summes which were deſigned for the Satisfaction of Publike Accompts, they divide among themſelves; and Turn thoſe Troops to Free-quarter, whole Pay is already in their own Pockets. After all this, the *Laws* muſt be as well *ſubdued*, as the *People*: no other Title left us to our Lives, and Eſtates, but what depends upon the Vote of a Legiſlative Committee. It is already conſtrued *Sedition*, to *Demand*, what the *Law* tells us, is *Treaſon* to *Oppoſe*: and the bare *mention* of a *Free-Parliament* puts our *bleſſed remnant* into a Sweat. There's *Violence* deſigned upon us, and *Violence* muſt meet it. *The Axe is laid to the root: the Commune Freedome of the Engliſh Nation lies at ſtake; and 'tis our Commune Intereſt to defend it. The Juſt, and peaceable aſſertion of our Undoubted rights, is Voted Breach of priviledge: and he that draws his Sword to ſave his Countrey, forfeits his head for't.* This will not doe. Theſe worthy *Squires* of the *Fagg end* muſt take their Turns too. Suppoſe the *City* ſhould refuſe the Tax: (the *Countries* are reſolved upon't) How *Certain*, and *Inevitable*, is their *Ruine*? The very firſt attempt of *Force*, ſets the whole Nation in a Flame. *They Riſe together, and the Work is done.* 'Tis not the ſtifling of the *Preſſe*, can break their *Correſpondence*: nor the *Old Cheat of Creating New Plots*, that will divert them. *Theſe Jugglers have ſhewed all their Tricks*, and the whole World's Convinced of their Intentions. The Deſign walks bare-fac'd. It is now evident, that they purpoſe to make us *perpetual Slaves*; and to enure us to no other *Law*, than the *Imperious Will* of our hard Maſters. Their very beſt *Friends* and *Aſſiſtants*, are now *diſcarded* by theſe *Thankleſſe Wretches*: the *Scrupulous*, and *Congregationall Party* being caſt into the Ballance with the *Commune Enemy*: and *both* alike *Excluded* from the *Government* they promiſe us: (to ſhew, that their *Ambition* is as well *Inſociable* as *Boundleſſe*.)

To Finiſh All; what Security or Quiet, *can that Faction expect, which never Requited a Friend, or Spared an Enemy? What Comfort can that Nation look for, that ſubjects it ſelf to the Faith and Mercy, of ſuch a Faction?*

UPon the 25 of *Jan.* Sir *Robert Pye*, and *Major Fincher*, were Ordered to the Tower, for *Presenting* and *Subscribing* a *Declaration* from *Berkshire*, for a *Free* and *Full Parliament*: It being Voted; *A Breach of the* PRIVILEGE *of* PARLIAMENT: SEDITIOUS, *and tending to the Raysing of a New War.* The Squires of the Rump; *Scot*, and *Robinson* were, by this Time, doing their Complements to his *Excellency*; and the *City-Commissioners*, upon their way toward him: In which Juncture, came forth a Paper Entitled

A Letter of General George Monck's; *Dated at* Leicester 23. Jan. *and Directed to Mr.* Rolle, *to be communicated unto the rest of the Gentry of* Devon: — *Occasioned by a Late Letter from the Gentry of* Devon: *dated at* Exceter 14 *Jan. and sent by Mr.* Bampfield *to the Speaker, to be communicated unto the Parliament.*

Read in Parliament, Jan. 26.

To this Letter, I took the Liberty to Draw what followes in *Answer.* Addressed

To His Excellency, GENERAL MONCK.

A Letter from the Gentlemen of Devon in Answer to his Lordships of January 23. *to them directed from* Leicester.

My Lord;

THere is a Letter which hath passed the Press under your Name, dated at *Leicester* 23. *Jan.* and directed *unto Mr.* Rolle, *to be communicated to the rest of the Gentry of* Devon: &c. —— Whether this be your Excellencies Act or not, is the question. If so it be, we receive it as a noble Respect from *General Monk* to his *Friends* and *Country men*; if Otherwise, we look upon it as the *Artifice* of an *Anti-Parliamentary Faction*, under the *pretence* of your *Concurrence* and *Aid*, to *Delude* and *Enslave* the Nation.

It is *one* thing for a Person of Honour freely to communicate his Thoughts and Reasonings, (although in favour of a possible mi-

miſtake) ſtill referring the Iſſue to the determinations of *Divinity*, and *Reaſon*: and it is *another thing*, for a *Confederate Party* to charge *ſuch* a Perſon with failings properly their *own*.

To haſten the diſpatch of that little we have to ſay, the Authors of this, are of that number to whom your Letter directs. We ſhall proceed according to our Duties, and Inſtructions, and briefly acquaint your Excellency with the ſenſe of thoſe that have entruſted us.

We ſhall begin (my Lord) with the *Conceſſion* of what wee much *Suſpect*; and take for *Granted*, that the Letter ſo inſcribed, is really *Yours*.

We are next to return you the *Thanks* of your *Country-men*, for the expreſſions of your *Piety* and *Care*, therein contained; and *particularly*, — *that in the head of your Army, you have rather choſen Arguments of* Reaſon, *than of Force.* — *That you propoſe the word of God, for your Rule; and the Settlement of the Nation, for your End.* — *That you take notice of many Factions, and Intereſts introduced, and yet profeſſe a ſervice to None of them.* — *That you ſo earneſtly deſire to Compoſe Old Differences at Home, and to Prevent New Miſchiefs from Abroad.* — *And finally; That you ſubmit the* Reſult *of all, to a Fair, and* Rational *Examination.*

To *profeſs*, and to *perſue* all this, is but *like your ſelf*; and *to theſe purpoſes*, we ſhall not ſtick to *live* and *dye* at your *Feet*. If upon Diſcuſſion of the Reaſons you alledge, we aſſume the Liberty which your Candour allows us, of declaring wherein we differ, we beg to be underſtood with all tenderneſs toward your Excellency; to whom, as a ſtranger to our late Oppreſſions and Calamities, the ſtate of our Affairs, and Affections, may probably be miſrepreſented.

To obſerve your own Method; our Letter to the *Speaker, importing the recalling of the Secluded Members* was the *occaſion* of *Yours* to *Us*; which ſayes, that; *Before theſe Wars our Government was Monarchical, both in Church, and State; but* (as the caſe now ſtands) *Monarchy cannot poſſibly be admitted for the future,*

ture, in theſe Nations; becauſe it is incompatible with the ſeveral Intereſts which have enſued upon the Quarrel : viz. *the Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptiſts, &c. (as to Eccleſiaſticks) and the Purchaſers of* Crown, *and Biſhops Lands, Forfeited Eſtates, &c. (as to Civils) by which means, the ſupport it ſelf is taken away; ſo that the Conſtitution, qualified to fix all Intereſts, muſt be that of a* Republique: *To which, the Secluded Members of* 1648. *will never agree, many of them being Aſſertours of Monarchy, and Diſclaimers to all Lawes made ſince their Seclusion: Over and above, that the Army alſo will never endure it. The Concluſion, Thus; that it were better for us to deſiſt from that Paper, and rely upon the Promiſes of this Parliament, for a due Repreſentative: —— a Proviſion for ſucceeding Parliaments, and a Peaceable Settlement; than by an unſeaſonable Impatience to embroil the Nation in a freſh Engagement.*

From hence it appears, that we might be allowed a Free Parliament, but for Four Reaſons.

Firſt, *The Major Part Inclines to Monarchy, and they that have ſwallowed the* Revenues *of the* Crown, *declare againſt it.*

Secondly, *The Entangled Intereſts of this Nation can never be United, but under a* Republique.

Thirdly, *The Army will never endure it.*

Laſtly, *It would beget a new war,* whereas *this Parliament promiſes to ſettle us in a laſting Peace.*

To all which, in Order, and *Firſt*, concerning *Monarchy*; (not as the thing which we contend for) we (onely) wonder why it is *Prejudged*, and particularly, by *thoſe* Perſons who have *ſworn* to *defend* it. But, my Lord, you have hit the Reaſon; they have *Gained* by *Diſſolving* it, and they are afraid to *Loſe* by *Reſtoring* it. Having put the *Father* to *Death*, whom they *Covenanted* to *Preſerve*; they *Abjure* the *Son*, whom they Fear to *Truſt*. By *Force* they would *Reaſon*, what by *Force* they have *Gotten*. In effect, the *Queſtion*, is not ſo much, what *Government*, as what *Gover-*

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tours: A *Single Perſon* will down well enough, with the fierceſt of them, *when it lies fair for any of Themſelves*. Witneſs the *late Protectour*, and the *Later Lambert*. Briefly, ſince the *Death* of the *late King*, we have been *Govern'd* by *Tumult*; *Bandy'd* from *One Faction* to the *Other*: *This* Party up *to day*, *That to Morrow*; but ſtill the *Nation Under*, and a *Prey* to the *Strongeſt*. It is a feeble Argument *againſt Monarchy*, that we never have been happy ſince we *loſt* it: and yet nothing hath appeared to obſtruct our Quiet, but the *Diviſion* of the *Booty*. What *Hath* been, *Shall* be, ſo long as this *Violence* continues over us: nor can any other Government *Settle* the Nation, than that which *pleaſes* the Univerſality of it. And in that, we pretend not to *direct* our Repreſentatives: but which way ſoever they encline, we ſhall with our *Lives* and *Fortunes* Juſtifie, and *Obey* their *Appointments*.

Whether we *have* Reaſon, or *not*, *in this Particular*, let your Excellency Judge.

The *Second* Objection againſt a *Free Parliament*, is drawn from the *Neceſſity* of a *Republique, to reconcile all Intereſts*. To This, we offer, *Firſt*, that it is not *Neceſſary*; next, that it is not ſo much as *Effectual*, to that purpoſe; and *Laſtly*, that a *Free Parliament* ought to *Introduce* it, if it were both the *One* and the *Other*.

The *Firſt* we prove thus, *It is not the Form of Government, but the Conſent of the People, that muſt Settle the Nation: The Publike Debt, muſt be ſecured out of the Publique Stock: and That diſpoſed of by an Engagement of the Publique Faith, to ſuch Ends, and purpoſes, as the Repreſentative of the Nation ſhall deem expedient for the Good of it*. In like manner may all other Intereſts be ſecured; whether of *Opinion*, or *Property*, under what Form of Government ſoever a *Free Parliament* ſhall think fit to unite us. That it is not *Neceſſary*, enough is ſaid. We are now to deduce from your Lordſhips Text, that a *Free-State* would be as little *effectuall* alſo, as to our concerns. You are pleaſed to intimate the *Dangerous Inclination of the People to Monarchy*: and to Ballance the *Satisfaction*, the *Right*, and the *Univerſall Vote* of *the Nation*, with the *Intereſts*

tereſts of ſome *Few* perſons, *that would* Rule *us* Themſelves, (for that's the Engliſh of the Settlement they propoſe.) By this Argument, a *Republique, excludes the Negative,* and more *Conſiderable Intereſt*, in *favour* of a *Small*, and a *Partial* one: and if it be granted, that a *Free* Parliament will never agree upon a *Free State*, it follows neceſſarily, that *That Form will never doe* our Buſineſſe. *Laſtly*, what Government ſoever is *forced* upon us, muſt certainly *expire* with the *Force* that impoſes it; and the *Voice of the People* (in this caſe) *is the Declaratory Voice of Providence.*

The Third Difficulty is. *The Army will never endure it.* This is to ſay, *You are to be Govern'd by the Sword.*

To *Conclude*; The *Fear of a New War*, and *the Promiſe of a ſpeedy Compoſure*, are the *laſt* Suggeſtions of *Diſſwaſion* to us.

Alas, my Lord, doe we not ſee that *Parties* are uniting againſt us, *Abroad*, and we conſpiring againſt our *ſelves* at *Home?* How *certainly* ſhall we be *Attempted*, and how *eaſily Overcome*; without ſuch a *Medium* to *Reconcile* us All, as may *Pleaſe* us All! *but we are promiſed fair.* We beſeech you Lordſhip to conſider the *Promiſers.* Are not *Theſe* the People that *vow'd* to make our *Laſt*, a *Glorious King?* Juſt ſuch a *Glorious Nation* will they make of *Us.* Did they not next *Abjure* a *Single Perſon*; and yet after that, *ſet up* ANOTHER, with *Another Oath?* Not to purſue this Subject further: *Theſe* Men we dare not Truſt, nor *any other of that Leaven*; we have have no thoughts but of Juſtice to all Intereſts; and in order to that Settlement and Good we wiſh the Nation, we ſhall empower our Repreſentatives with the Command of all we are worth, and moſt remarkably evidence our ſelves, My Lord,

Your Excellencies Servants.

Jan. 28. 1659.

The

THe Generall was plyed with Addesses for a *Free-Parliament* throughout his whole Passage, and the Nation entirely Concurr'd to the same Effect. Upon *Tuesday* (*Feb.* 2.) a Considerable Party of the *Red-Coates*, Tumulted for Pay; Cast off their Officers, and Formally Engarrison'd themselves in *Somerset-House*: Publiqu ly Reproaching the *Rump*, and Declaring for the *City*, and a *Free-Parliament*. Finding the Citizens well enough disposed to emprove the Mutiny: I appointed Immediately the Printing of Two Papers, directing them to Associate; and in *These Terms*.

The SENSE *of the* ARMY.

WHereas the Calamities of this Unhappy Nation, are charged upon those that have ventured their Bloods for the preservation of it; We hold it necessary, to acquit our selves, both to God and Men, by declaring to these following Particulars:

First, That we will engage our Lives against all oppesers of a Free-Parliament.

Secondly, That we will, according to the best of our Knowledge, observe, and cause to be observed; the Known Lawes *of the Land.*

Thirdly, That we will practice no violence, but what we are obliged to, by the Laws of Honesty, and Nature.

Lastly, That we will not leave our Quarters unsatisfied, nor lay down our Arms, without our Pay.

Somerset-House, Feb. 2. 1659.

The Citizens DECLARATION *for a* FREE-PARLIAMENT

WEe the *Young Men* in and about *London*, doe unanimously *Declare*, That we will *Assist*, and *protect*, to our uttermost, what Party soever we shall find oppresst, for desiring a FREE-PARLIAMENT; And that such of the *Souldiery*, as shall *joyn* with us in so *necessary* and *just* an

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undertaking, ſhall receive half their Arrieres upon the firſt Rendez-vous, and the Reſt upon the Accompliſhment of the work.

Feb. 2. 1659.

LAte at night, The Apprentices drew into a Party in the *City*, and were ſcattered by the Army Horſe; whereas, had they rather drawn down into the *Strand*, and joyned themſelves with Thoſe in *Somerſet-Houſe*, it was believed by ſober Perſons, that they might have carried it. About One, in the Morning, the Revolted Party was *Falſe-Alarmed* and perſwaded out of their ſecurity, upon Pretenſe, that if they were not Inſtantly Poſted, to hinder *Monks* Entrance into the Town, they would have all their Throats cut in their Quarters. This Device brought them out, and ſo That morning, they were Commanded away; Leaving the Town Quiet, and in Condition to entertain Honeſter Gueſts. Upon *Friday* Afternoon (*Feb.* 3.) his Excellency marched in the Head of his Army to his Quarters at *White-Hall*: and the Day following, I took the Liberty to ſhoot another Bolt; under the *Title*, and *Form* here-enſuing.

For his EXCELLENCY *Generall* MONCK.

MY LORD,

YOu are too *Wiſe*, and *Noble*, to need either a *Direction*, or a *Spur*, where your *Judgement*, or *Honor* lies at Stake: And to tell you, that *to make your ſelf the Happieſt Perſon in Nature, you muſt Deliver us from being the moſt Miſerable People*, is but to ſpeak your own *Thoughts*, and *Purpoſes*. Yet ſuch is the Paſſion I have for your *Perſonall*, and for the *Publique Good*, that a Burthen lies upon my Soul, till I have given ſome Teſtimony of my Reſpects, and Tenderneſſe both for the *One*, and the *Other*, howſuperfluous ſoever, toward a *Judgement*, and *Inclination*, ſo well Qualified for the *Knowledge* and *Practice*, of what is *Honorable*,

My

My Lord, We are a wretched People, and Providence hath put it in your power, to finiſh all our Troubles. The Eyes of *Men* and *Angels* are upon You, and the whole Nation courts You as their Tutelary Spirit. Never was any Action ſo eaſie, and ſo Glorious at once, as our Deliverance. 'Tis wrought without the hazzard, or expence either of *Blood*, *Time*, or *Treaſure*. The *Hearts*, the *Hands*, and *Fortunes* of the People, are all at Your Devotion. Nay, leſt You ſhould ſubmit to be miſled by Popular Applauſe, *Ambition*, or any other *Frailty*; Heaven hath annexed Your *Intereſt* to Your *Duty*, (forgive the Language) You muſt be *Mad* too, to be *wicked*, and Quit all other Principles of Beneficiall Prudence, with thoſe of commune Honeſty and Conſcience. Ballance (my Lord) the main Accompt. Heaven and Hell, are the Difference. *One way*, You are ſure to be as *Great* and *Safe*, as *Love*, and *Gratitude* can make You; whereas all other Acquiſitions are deceitfull. A word now of the means to effect our Quiet; and that with all due reſpect to better Reaſon.

Firſt, In the Caſe of differing Perſwaſions, be pleaſed to form ſuch an Expedient, that all may quietly enjoy, and exerciſe their opinions, ſo far as they Conſiſt with the Word of God, and with the publique Peace.

Secondly, Appoint an Act of Oblivion to be drawn (if you pleaſe) *as Comprehenſive of all Intereſts, as care, and skill can make it; and after this, let a Free-Parliament be called (with this previous Engagement impoſed upon them) That they ſhall firſt ſecure theſe two Particulars of Conſcience and Property, according to the true Intention of the Parties therein Concerned, ere they proceed further; and that they may then apply themſelves to other Debates at Liberty; and ſettle what Government they ſhall think fit.* This I preſume not to deliver as the *Arrogant* Impoſition of a *ſingle Perſon*; but I doe offer it humbly, as the *ſenſe* of a *Numerous*, and *Sober party*. Some Mutinous and Peeviſh Spirits there are, whom nothing can pleaſe, but what diſpleaſes all the World beſide. It were pitty,

to alter the whole Frame of the Law, to gratifie the humour of ſo Inconſiderable a part of the People. *Changes are Slow, and Dangerous*; *God* and *Truth*, are *Invariable*; We were *Well*, till We *ſhifted*, and never *ſince*; having tried all other Poſtures in vain; were it not better to attempt That *once again*, than thus expoſe our ſelves to be Reſtleſſe for ever?

My Lord, the Author of this is very much

Feb. 4. 1659. *Your* Excellencie's Servant.

THe City of *London*, having of late behav'd themſelves a little Croſſe, diſturb'd the ſelf-created Repreſentative exceedingly. The *Common-Counſel* was too *Stout*, and *Honeſt*, for their purpoſe. The *Aldermen*; but an Untoward Mixture: yet thoſe among them that *were* Right, were *Eminently* ſo, and there were not a few that were ſo. A very *Worthy*, and *Particular* Inſtrument in the Frank carriage of the Buſineſſe, was the *Recorder*. But Equall to them All was the brave *General*.

The *Rump* was now come to a *Forc'd Put*. *Monies* muſt be *Rays'd*, and the *City Subdu'd*, or the *Good Old Cauſe* is Loſt. In Order to Both; Out comes the *Long look'd for* 100000. *Tax*, upon *Tueſday*; (Feb. 7.) which was Follow'd with a *Negative Reſolve* of *Common Counſel*, upon *Wedneſday*: but *Thurſday* was the *Bloody Day* Deſign'd, both to his *Excellence*, and to the *Town*. (witneſſe the *Reſolves* it produced, as to the *City*, and the *Orders* Impoſed upon the *General*.)

His *Excellence* having drawn his Forces into the *City*, ſo far Comply'd with his reſpects even to the leaſt *Image* of *Authority*, as to *Secure* diverſe *Perſons*, by virtue of an Order, to that expreſs purpoſe. But to *Deſtroy* Their *Gates*, and *Portcullices*, he was very Loth; and ſignifi'd as much to the *Members*, in a Letter from *Guild Hall*, to which, he received in Anſwer, only a more peremptory *Command* to *Proceed*, which accordingly he Exe-

cuted,

cuted, the day following, and ſo returned to his Quarters.

The *Reſolves* (of *Feb.* 9.) I muſt not Omit, for they deſerve to be Tranſmitted to Poſterity.

Thurſday 9 *Feb.*

THe Houſe received a Report from the Council of State, of ſome Reſolutions taken by the Council, in relation to the City of *London.*

Reſolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State hath done, in ordering, That the Commiſſioners for Government of the Army, do appoint Forces to be and continue in the City of *London*, for preſerving the Peace thereof, and of the Commonwealth, and for Reducing of the City to the obedience of the Parliament.

Reſolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State have done, in ordering that the Commiſſioners for the Army, do take order that the Poſts and Chains in the City of *London*, be taken away.

Reſolved, That the Gates of the City of *London*, and the Portcullices there, be forthwith deſtroyed.

Reſolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State, and Commiſſioners of the Army have done, in Seizing and Apprehending of Mr. *Vincent*, Merchant in *Biſhopſgate*-Street, And *Thomas Brown*, Grocer in *Wood*-Street, *Daniel Spencer*, in *Friday* Street, *Laurence Brompfield*, in *Tower*-Street, Major *Chamberlain*, Mr. *Bludworth*, and *Richard Ford*, in *Seething*-Lane, Major *Cox*, at the *Swan* in *Dowgate*, Mr. *Penning*, in *Fanchurch* Street, and Lieutenant Colonel *Jackſon.*

Reſolved, That the preſent Common-Council of the City of *London*, Elected for this Year, be diſcontinued, and be and are hereby declared to be Null and Void, and that the Lord Mayor of *London* have notice hereof.

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill for

for the Choice of another Common-Counſel, with ſuch Qualifications as the Parliament ſhall think fit, with order to meet at 8. of the Clock in the Speakers Chamber to morrow morning.

The Houſe likewiſe read the Bill for ſetling the Militia of the City of *London*, and the Liberties thereof, the firſt time, and referred it to the Council of State, to preſent names of Commiſſioners for the Militia of the City of *London* to the Houſe to morrow morning.

The Parliament taking Notice of the diſcreet carriage of the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, in the Late tranſactions of the Common Council,

Ordered, That the Lord Mayor have the thanks of this Houſe, and that Alderman *Atkins* do give him the thanks of the Parliament accordingly.

THis day produced likewiſe a remarkable *Petition*, Preſented by *Praiſe-God Barebones*, *Preſsing*, that no man might be Admitted into any place of Truſt, except ſuch as ſhould ABJURE A SINGLE PERSON; and further *Praying*, that it might be Enacted HIGH TREASON, *for any man to* MOVE, OFFER, *or* PROPOUND, *in* PARLIAMENT, COUNSEL, COURT, *or* PUBLIQUE MEETING, *any thing in order to* CHARLES STEVVART, &c. —— —— *and that after ſuch a* LAVV ENACTED, *it might be deemed* HIGH TREASON, *for any man to move, or Propoſe the* REVOCATION of it.

A man would have thought, theſe people ſhould have had enough already of the *Oath* of ABJURATION; for nothing did more expoſe them, than the eagerneſſe they had formerly uſed in the promoting of it: which ſerved, only to *Enrage* the *Oppoſers*, and to ſet up for a *Marque*, the Infamous Abetters of it. But all this was not ſufficient to divert the *Gratious Members* from a moſt Particular *Order* of *Thanks* to the *Petitioners*.

Upon *Saturday* (the memorable 11th. of Feb.) the *General*, finding himſelf a little more at *Liberty*, Removed his Quarters into the *City*, and there *Declared* himſelf, to the Univerſal Satiſ-

faction.

faction of the Nation. (Desiring Particularly, by Letter, the *men of Westminster* to bethink themselves of their *Dissolution*)

In the transaction of this Affair, there were so many untoward Circumstances, that to Prevent Mistakes, I dispersed Several Copies of this ensuing *Narrative*.

IN *Octob.* last, when *Lambert scattered the Committee of Westminster* his *unluckie Excellency* thought it then a fit time to set up for *himself*; and in the Head of a *Phanatique Party*, to bid Defiance to all the *Sober Interests*, and *Judgements* of the Nation. His Principal assistant in the work was Sir *Henry Vane*, *the Prophet of that Inspired Rabble*. The *Faction* was grown *Bold*, and *Formidable*; when, to *divert the Course*, or *meet the Fury* of it, the *General* was *Invited* to draw a Force from *Scotland* into the *North*: and In he came, but to a Nobler purpose, than ever they Intended. They *Called* him in to save *Themselves*, he *Came* to save the *Nation*. Upon the first notice of his *Advance*, *Lambert* was sent with a considerable Army to meet him, and *London* left almost without a *Publique Guard*, (such was the Confidence they had in the *Anabaptistique Party*, *which was privately Armed, and Listed in and about the town.*) In fine, after diverse *Affronts upon*, *and Tumults in the City*, *the Souldiery Revolted*; *the Fugitive Members Returned*; *Lambert's Army Mouldered away*; and *his Excellency vanished*. Thus far without a Blow; but the more difficult part was still behind, (for *Treacherous friends*, are much more *dangerous* than *professed Enemies*) The *General*, resolves next, for *London*: and makes it his design, both in his Passage, and after his Arrive, by all means possible, to avoid blood-shed: His *March* speaks him a *Souldier*, and a *Gentleman*, for it was *Regular*, and *Inoffensive*. The Country courted him upon the way as their *Deliverer*, and he deserved it; For he hath proved himself no lesse. The strict *reserve* he used, was but what best became his *Dignity* and *Prudence*; he was too *Generous*, to betray *Another*, and too *Wise* to be betrayed, *Himself*. Under this Guard of *Honour*, and of *Caution*,

he

he paſt his Journey; not to trouble you with long ſtories, how the waies were thronged with *Cries* and *Addreſſes* of the Nation, for a *Free-Parliament*; what *Conference* he had with the *good Aldermen*, what *Complements* were made him, by the *Other* men of *Weſtminſter*, *&c.* ——— To come to the Point, upon *Friday afternoon*, (the third of this Inſtant *February*) *General Monck* took up his Lodgings in *Whitehall*. On the *Monday following*, his Excellency was conducted by *Scot* and *Robinſon*, (with the formality of a *Mace* carried before them,) in o a place commonly called the *Parliament-Houſe*, where he deliver'd himſelf according to good Diſcretion, and ſoon after return'd to his Lodgings: Laden with the *Thanks of the Houſe*. *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* were the *General*'s daies of *reſt*: but not ſo to the *City*: for, upon *Tueſday* the 100000*l*. *Tax* came out, which Netled the Citizens ſhrewdly; and the day *following*, they met in *Common-Counſell*, to adviſe upon it. Where they reſolved, *to adhere to a former Vote of the Court in the Negative*. At the ſame ſitting was communicated a *Declaration from Warwick ſhire, for a Free-Parliament*; it was of a fair ſignification, and Authority; the Gentlemen that brought it, received the Thanks of the Court; (not to mention the peeviſhneſſe of 2 or 3 Diſſenters) *'tis hoped they may be wiſer, and honeſter hereafter*; This was a *Day* of *Buſineſſe* in *London*, and produced a *Buſier Night* at *Weſtminſter*: for the Counſell of State, after a tedious Puzzle and Debate, Iſſued out Orders to *Generall Monck*, for the Reducing of the *City*, directing him to proceed, in ſuch a Method, as they had preſcribed him. In perſuance thereof, his Excellency marched early upon *Thurſday* the Ninth current *Horſe* and *Foot*, into the *City*; by that means fruſtrating a Reſpect which the Court had deſigned him the Day before; *Having appointed four Aldermen, and eight Commoners to attend him the next Morning*. His entrance into the Town, brought all the *Horror* and *Satisfaction* with it, Imaginable: nor did the People underſtand for a long while, whether they ſhould *Curſe* or *Adore* him: at laſt in compliance with

with his Orders, he ſeized divers eminent Citizens, and ſent them to the *Tower*, and took up his Quarters that Night in the City; By this time, the People, beyond all doubt, pronounced him the moſt execrable Creature that ever came within their Walls, not underſtanding that the *Miſchief* he *did* them, was but *Feſt*, and the *Good* he *Intended* them, was *Earneſt*. That in conſideration of a *weeks Impriſonment, he would reward them, and their Poſterity, with Perpetuall Liberty*. This however carried an appearance of ſeverity, which was in effect, but a point of Military Honor; For his *Inclination*, and *Duty* in this Action, Led him *ſeveral waies*: as a *Souldier he obeyed a Barbarous Order*; as an *Engliſhman* he made it his care, to take off the *edge* on't; and he was bound to doe *That, this day* by *Commiſſion*, Which he reſolved to undoe two dayes *after* upon a Nobler Principle; upon *Friday*, (the 10th. of the *Moneth*, and the laſt of his *Commiſſion*,) the General demanded the Cities laſt Reſolve, from the Aldermen; who ſtill adhered to their former Judgement. His Excellency, hereupon gave command *to demoliſh the City Gates*, and ſo Returned to *Whitehall*. (Obſerve, that his *Diſpleaſure*, and *Commiſſion* died together,) For the next Morning, (*Saturday*,) he made the Town a large Amends: *Declaring Solemnly to joyn with them, and their Aſſociates for a Free Parliament*; (but having fairly firſt diſcharged himſelf to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, by a Letter in commune with his Officers; *who have behaved themſelves as men of Honor in the Buſineſſe*. The Truth is, had not the Generall been nimble with them, they had undermined him; for, contrary to *Faith* and *Honeſty*, to their expreſſe Agreement, they had not onely entred into a *ſecret* combination with the Sectaries, but *publickly encouraged their Aſſemblings and Petitions*; and more particularly, contrived the direct Ruine of that Perſon, who had ſo lately preſerved them. This is a Theame tranſports me; The Bloody Votes were paſſed that Diſmall Night: Let *Nedham* tell you; but never was a Joy ſo Univerſall; *wiſe* men grew *mad* upon't, and *mad* men *ſober*. The Cryes, the Bonfires, and the fume of

Roſted Rumps, did quite take down the *Legiſlative Stomack*; 'Tis thought the Thing at *Weſtminſter* is vaniſhed. In fine, *the Hand of God is in't, his Name be prayſed.*

Feb. 12. 1659.

THis was not yet enough, to put the *Rump* out of Countenance. The bleſſed Members met again as Formally as ever, & Acted with a Confidence that might exuſe the *Common peoples Jealouſie* over the *General*. *He* was *too* Wiſe, to walk too *Open*: and *They* not Wiſe *enough* to comprehend the Policie of his *Reſerve*. And yet they wanted not a *Will* to Underſtand him. They *ſtudy'd* nothing elſe but his *Intentions*. That which moſt puzzled them, was a Conference at *Alderman Wale's*, betwixt Several of the *Secluded Members*, and of the *Rump*: Joyning to That, *His Excellencies Anſwer to a Propoſal of Raiſing Forces to ſecure themſelves*; which was, *That He himſelf would Interpoſe betwixt the City, and all Danger.*

Obſerving how prejudicial theſe *Miſtakes* were to the *Publique Intereſt* of *Settlement*; and with what *Art*, and *Induſtry*, they were *Aſſiſted*, by the *Adverſe Party*: I took it for a Seaſonable, and *Good Office* to do ſomthing that might Create a better *Underſtanding*: Or, at the worſt, Excite the Citizens, to Act by *Tichborn's Preſident*, and of *Themſelves*, in Caſe of any further *Baffle* or *Delay*, in ſetling their *Militia*. For theſe Reaſons, I Publiſh'd this Enſuing Paper.

A Word in Seaſon, to General MONK, *(with his Officers, &c.) To the* CITY, *and To the* NATION.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

YOu are, at preſent, in the *Heart* of the *Nation*, and in the *Armes* of your *Friends*: where you are *Safe*, and *Beloved*. You have the *Strength* and *Affections* of the *City*, at your Devotion

Devotion, and it is your Commune Interest, to unite in a Concurence both of *Power* and *Kindnesse*. *You stand and fall together.* You are all of the same *Stock*; *Born* to the same *Freedom*; *Subjected* to the same *Laws*; *Nurs'd* up in the same *Religion*: And in fine, *Obliged* by the same Rules of *Duty* and *Wisdom*, to promote the same *Ends*. I might adde, that you are likewise *exposed* to the same *Danger*, and from the same *Enemy*: by whose *Hypocrisie*, and *Skill*, should you be *Deluded* into a *Belief*, of such who never kept *Faith*, (forgive me) your *Reputation* is lost, with your *Security*; and you *Fall*, without either *Redress* or *Pity*. In this very Instant, *while you Treat, the Mine is working*. The *Instruments* and *Means* of your Destruction are already *agreed upon*. Some are employed to *Infect* your *Councils*, and *Alienate* your *Souldiers*: *Others sit among you, to Betray you*. What by *Open Force* cannot be *Effected*, must be *assisted*, by a *Dagger* or *Poyson*. (*You have the Substance of this, already, upon Evidence, and Experiment.*) Next to this *Caution* towards your *Professed Adversaries*, allow me to propose a more *Ingennous*, and *Open Clearnesse* towards your *Usefull Friends*. (if it were but to *prevent Mis-understandings*: Beside, that the very *Doubt* is both *Injurious*, and *Painfull*) *Offices of Respect, and Comfort, ought to be performed with Liberty, and Chearfullness*, without any the least mixture of *Scruple*, or *Reserve*. *These Frank, and Mutual Enterchanges of Succour, and Advice, beget a Trust*, and *Kindness*; And *That's the true Foundation of a happy, and Lasting Union.* — *That Friendship which admits a Jelousie, wavers.*

When *You*, (My Lord) your *Officers*, and *Army*, are become *One* with this *City*, you have then but Contracted a nearer Alliance with the Nation: whose several *Counties*, and *Divisions*, (how remote soever) are (with this Town) but Parts still of the same Body. By a Consent of *Interest*, and *Sense*, they *Prosper*, or they *Wither*, they *Grieve*, or *Joy*, they *Live*, or *Dye*. Nor are they more united in their *Interests*, than in their *Votes*, and *Resolutions*; for they have unanimously *engaged with the City, to maintain their Rights, and Liberties, the Reformed Religion, and the Freedom of*

Parliaments, againſt all Hazzards, and Oppoſitions whatſoever. I need not tell your Lordſhip by what *Audacious* and *Illegal Violences*, this *Declaration* and *Remonſtrance* was *extorted* from them. *The Nation ſtood condemn'd to Servitude, and Beggery*, even by *thoſe*, whom they themſelves had *Rayſed* from that Condition, to aggravate the *Bondage*, by the more Intollerable *Authors* of it. 'Tis now become a Crime, *to name a Full, Free Parliament*, and *Treaſon* to appeal to any other *Law*, than the Inſipid *Vote* of a Legiſlative Conventicle. The Gaols are full of Priſoners upon that very ſcore.

Was it not time, (My Lord) to bid theſe People hold their Hands, after the expenſe of ſo much *Blood*, and of ſo many *Millions*; and all this only *to perpetuate a dearer, and a more Infamous Thralldome?* The *Pulpits* were enured to *Blaſphemie*, and *Non ſenſe*, and the *Government proſtituted for money, to Perſons able to diſgrace a Bawdy-Houſe.* —— Theſe, and the like Indignities, put the Nation upon their Juſt, and neceſſary Defence; And in that Poſture they now ſtand Ready, and Reſolved.

Your Excellency hath been tender hitherto of Blood, but if a ſpeedy Order be not taken, to Regulate thoſe ſtragling Troops, that Act ſtill in the Countries, *in Oppoſition to a Settlement*, It will come yet to Blows: For queſtionleſſe, *in caſe of a Neceſſity, the People will not ſtand ſtill, and ſuffer themſelves to be picked out, man by man, till they be all Deſtroyed.*

The Gentry and Nobility, are Slaves to every pedling Purſuivant. 'Tis but a Warrant from our Maſters, and all is Fiſh that comes to Net: No matter for a Crime, if there be *Booty*. All that the People *ask*, all they deſign, is but *the Benefit of the Law*. Will any *Engliſh man* deny it us? Firſt, *They* have *ſworn* to *defend* it; Next *We* have *ſworn*, rather to *dye*, than *loſe* it. This *Faction* hath coſt the *Nation* more than 60. *Millions*, beſides the *Blood* they have *Lapp'd*: and yet 100000. l. *a Month, and not a farthing leſſe*, will do their Buſineſſe, that is, 5000. l. a Man, or ſome ſuch Triſle: *For that, the Junto ſhares; perhaps the Souldier, once in a*

year,

year, or 2. may get his Mornings draught, and then be turn'd to Graze upon Free Quarter; and hang'd for Mutiny, if he but talks of Money. Its the trick they ſerved all that have ſerved them. Who ever *ſtrikes*, or *payes* on their behalf, *fights* but for *Bondage*, and *contributes* to his own *Chaines*. If they had any *Faith*, they might be *Truſted*. But *Oaths* go down with them like *Pills of Butter*, they are *diſſolved*, as ſoon as *taken*. That *Perjury* which would *poyſon a good Chriſtian*, is but their *Nutriment*. Nay worſe than *Wolves*, they are *Falſe* to their own *Kind*, and *enter-worry one another*. I ſhould be endleſſe, to purſue this Subject till I want Matter. In brief, *My Lord, look to your ſelf, and to your Friends; Life and Death are before you, Chuſe. May Heaven direct and bleſs your Counſels and Endeavours, ſo far, as you proceed with Pietie and Honour.* To prevent Miſtakes, I do declare, that there are divers *moderate* and *ſober* Perſons, in the Mixture, for whom I have a fair *Reſpect*, and that the tartneſſe of my Language, only concerns the *Furious* and *Phanatique* of them.

A word now to the CITY; and that a *ſhort* one.] *Gentlemen*, upon your fair compliance with the General, depends much of your ſafety: that is, ſo far as he comports himſelf with terms of *Prudence, Equity*, and *Honour*; (and he is too *Noble*, to go Leſſe) next, to *himſelf*, you find his *Officers*, of an *Ingenuous*, and *clear* Converſation; and worth your Friendſhips, *their Commands apart*; you likewiſe find the *body* of the *Army Civil*, and *well diſciplin'd*, you do exceeding well to pay them all due reſpects: and to joyn *Intereſts*, and *Councils*, with them; —— you have done *Wiſely, Honeſtly*, and *Bravely too, to oppoſe Taxes*: that is, *Taxes impoſed without a Law*, — *to be employed againſt your ſelves*; —— and ſuch, as had you granted them, your *Preſident* would have extended to *enſlave* your *Poſteritie*. — Your care next, to *diſarm* the *Sectaries*, was very ſeaſonable, Your City had probably been in Aſhes elſe by this time. Conſider, they bear the ſame mind

ſtill

ſtill, and where they had thoſe weapons they can quickly have more. You cannot be *ſecure* without your *Militia*, nor can any thing fairly obſtruct your Procurement of it: *In Tichburn's Caſe*, it was by the Commons ordered, *that any ſix of the Common-Counſell (upon emergent occaſions) might ſend for the Lord Mayor to call a Common-Counſell, and in caſe of default, call it themſelves, and any 40. of them, to have power to act as a Common-Councell, without the Lord Mayor, any thing in their Charter to the contrary Notwithſtanding*: See the Hiſt. of Independency, part 2. p 83. Not to exceed my limits, *Forget not your ſuffring Friends, and ſtand firm to your Aſſociates, and Allies. He that tamely ſuffers One Injury, Provokes Another.*

Now to the NATION, for a Farewell.] I need not preſſe my Country-men with many Cautions, your *Freedom of Elections, that's your Birth-right*; 'Tis that you all *declare*, to *Live* & *Dye* for, you are too *wiſe*, to be *cheated* with Reſtrictions and *Qualifications*: as if the Queſtion were the *Number*, rather than the *Choice*, at this rate, you may have a *full Houſe*, indeed; but How? That is, *full* of the *Brats*, the *Kindred*, and the *Partizans of thoſe that ſit already*; and then, they that have *gull'd* you all this while, ſhall *govern* you for ever, your very *Declarations* againſt the Preſent Tyranny, have brought you to that Point, that *there's no ſafety left you, but in violence*; for while you *talk*, you *dye*, your ſcattered Friends are gathered up, one by one; whereas, your SEASONABLE UNION MAKES ALL SURE.

As your *Intentions* are Honorable, ſo let your *Actions* be. How far the *Law* extends, in caſe of *Bruiſh*, and *Illegal cruelty*, ſee St. *Johns* Argument againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; and with That I conclude: *He that would not have had others to have Law, why ſhould he have any himſelf? Why ſhould not that be done to him, that himſelf would have done to other? It is true, we give Law to Harts and Deers, becauſe they be Beaſts of Chaſe; it was never accounted either cruelty, or fowl play, to Knock Foxes and Wolves on the head,*

as

as they can be found, because these be Beasts of Prey: The Warrener sets traps for Powlcats and other Vermin, for Preservation of the VVarren.

Feb. 18. 1659.

ABout This time, the Schismatiques had all their Instruments at work to disappoint the Generall Design, and Hope of a *Free Parliament*. The *Bolder*, and the more *Ingenious* sort of Honest men were Gather'd up, by Flying Troops, that they had every where Dispers'd to hinder a Conjunction: nay, they were come to That Degree of Impudence, to threaten *Banishment*, and *Sequestration* to the whole Party of *Declarers*. Nor did they Act these Outrages upon the *Gentry*, without a due regard of *Popular*, and specious *Application* to the *Vulgar*. *The House should be Immediately Fill'd:* —— *The Form of the VVrit was already Published:* ——— *The Qualifications, Agreed upon;* ——— and in *Fine;* ——— *They would Instantly proceed to a Settlement of Church and State:* ——— (what would they *more?*) In the mean while; The Presses are at Work; by *Libells against the King;* —— *By Arguments of Interest; and by False Intelligence,* to *Corrupt*, and *Deceive* the *People*. No Stone is left unturn'd. The *Common-wealthmen*. They're a Birding too; and Tell their Little Tales of *Rome*, and *Venice*. Nor does the Generall himself escape their wild Attempts; either upon his *Honesty*, by *Large* and *Insignificant Donations*; or else by *Plots* against his *Person*. The *Party* had their *Friends* too in the City; either, by *Tedious Speeches, From* the *Point*, to make their *Meetings Fruitlesse*: or upon *Frivolous Pretenses* to Delay the very *Calling* of a *Counsell*; Retarding the Militia by that means, to the great Hazzard of the whole Affair.

This

This was the Face of Things, when the Brave Generall Cleer'd the way for the *Return* of the *Secluded Members*, who being *Entred* (*Feb.* 21.) fell *Instantly* upon the Nulling of those Spurious Orders, which Related to their First Seclusion in *Dec.* 1648. Proceeding Thence, to the Enlarging, and Confirming of the *Generall's Commission* : and the disabling of the *Rump's Commissioners for the Government of the Army*. ——— The *Discharging of Prisoners*, Illegally Committed : ——— and the Appointment of *a new Convention*, (*Apr.* 25. — 1660.) — In Fine; they had enough to doe for one while, to *Vacate* the *misdoings* of their *Predecessors*: which thing it self they did, with all convenient Modesty, and Tenderness. As their Business was onely to *Settle* the *Nation*, without *Perpetuating Themselves*; so did they make all *Haste* was *Possible*, to Finish it. The *Militia's*, they Placed in Good Hands : and Empowred a *Counsell of State* to *Govern* in the next *Intervall*, which being done, and Provision made for a *New Election*; (*March* 16.) they Dissolved Themselves.

The *Independent* Gang were strugling now for Life; and Laboured by a Thousand Shifts, and Cheats to make a Party in the new *Militia*. During That Transaction; I caused this Following Paper to be Published.

A Seasonable Word.

I Do not write out of an itch of *Scribling*, or to support a *Faction*; my *Duty* bids me write.—Nor do I love *Hard* words, or *Many*, *Plain*, and *Few*, suit all *Capacities* and *Leisures*. *I* would be *Read* by *all*, and *Understood* by *all*: for my Business extends to all.— Not to spend time in *Complement*, or *Apology*; The *Readers Wisdome*, or the *Authors Weakness*, is not the Question. The Nation is in *Distress*, and every Englishman must lend his hand to save it. Nay, *That* must be done *Quickly* too, and *Vigorously*; *Delay* is *Mortal*. Can any thing be more *Ridiculous*, then to stand *Formalizing*, in a Case, where 'tis impossible to be too *early*, or too *zealous*? The *event* of things takes up our thoughts, more then the *Reason* of them; what *Newes*, more than what *Remedy*; As if it concerned us rather to know, *whose Fools and Slaves we shall be next*, then to be such no longer. That which completes the *Wonder*, and the *Oversight*, is, That the Miseries we suffer, were before hand, as easily, to be *Fore-seen* and *Prevented*, as they are now to be *Felt*: and we are only to look *Backward*, to take a perfect measure of the *Future*; so obvious, and formal is the Method, that leads to our destruction. If we are not in love with *Beggery*, and *Bondage*; let us at last bethink our selves of Freedom, and from a due inquiry into the *Rise*, and *Growth*, and *present State of our Calamities*, learn to be *wise*, and *Happy*, for the time to come.

It may be obſerved, that ſince *Church-men* dabled in *Politiques*, and *Stateſ-men* in *Divinity*, *Law* and *Religion* have been ſtill ſubjected to the *Sword*: and in effect, *thoſe ſame Excurſions, and Adulterate mixtures, are but the workings of a Party already in motion toward that End.* He that deſignes a *Change* of *Government*, muſt begin by impoſing a *Deluſion* upon the *People*: and whatſoever is *Neceſſary* to *his Purpoſe*, muſt be *Accomodate* to *their Humour*.----- The *Pulpet*, by falſe gloſſes, and *Puzzling diſtinctions*, under the *Doctrine* of *Conditionate Obedience*, *ſuggeſting Liberty*, *couſens* the *Multitude* into a *Rebellion*. *Oaths* and *Covenants*, are but like *Jugglers knots*, *Faſt* or *Looſe*, *as the Prieſt pleaſes*.— The *Weaker* ſort being thus prepared, and poyſon'd, by a *Seditious Clergy*; 'tis then the *Statesman's* part to puſh thoſe Mutinous *Inclinations* into *Action*: and to *divide* the Cauſe betwixt *Conſcience*, and *Property*, *the better to involve all Intereſts in the Quarrel*.— Under the Maſque of *Piety*, and *Publiqueneſs of Spirit*; of *Holy men*, and *Patriots*; the *Crafty* cheat the *Simple*; engaging by thoſe ſpecious pretenſes, the *Raſh*, *miſ-judging People*, (with good *Intentions*; but wanting *Care* and *Skill*) in *Sacrilege*, and *Treaſon*.

This was the very *Root*, and this hath been the *Preceſs* of our Evills. Under the notion of *Gods glory*, the *Safety*, and the *Honour* of the *King*: — the *Fundamentall Lawes*, and *Freedomes* of the *People*: —the *Priviledge* of *Parliaments*, &c. the Kingdome was gulled into a *Complyance* with an *Ambitious*, and *Schiſmaticall Faction*. The main Pretenſe, was the *Aſſertion of the Subjects Legall Rights, againſt the grand Prerogative*; and That,— directed only to the *Limitation* of an *Intended*, *Arbitrary Power*: — the *Regulation* of ſuch and ſuch *Miſ-Governments*, &c.— and all this— Saving their Allegeance to His Sacred Majeſty; whoſe Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, they had ſo often, and ſo vreply ſworn to maintain ---This was a Bait ſo *Popular*, it could not fail of drawing in a *Party*; and *That produced a War*,— The Formal *Story* of the Quarrel, is little to my purpoſe: the *Logique* of it, *Leſs*,—— *How, by the ſame Authority of Text, and Law, both King and People, could be Juſtifyed,*

Juſtifyed, one againſt the other; *I* meddle not. Let it ſuffice; that *after 6. Years Conflict, — a vaſt profuſion of Blood and Treaſure, —— The King, a Priſoner, --- and his whole party ſcattered, and diſarmed:* the *Commons* found themſelves diſpos'd to *end* our Troubles; and *paſſed a Vote* to Treat with His Majeſty in Order to a Settlement. This met with little oppoſition, except from thoſe, who having *Gorged* themſelves *already*, upon the *publique ruine*, were not yet ſatisfyed without their Soveraigns Blood — *The death of Monarchy it ſelf*; — *and the ſubjecting of a Tame, and Slaviſh People to a Conventicle of Regicides.* There were not many of ſo deep a Tincture; but what theſe few could not effect by *Number*, they did by *Force*. For, *upon the 6th. of Decemb.* 1648. Sir Hardreſſe Waller, Pride, *and* Hewſon, — *Seized* and *Empriſoned* 41. *of the Commons Houſe*; — *Clapp'd Guards upon all paſſes leading to it*; — Some 160 more, were given in upon a *Liſt* to thoſe that kept the Door, *with an expreſs direction from ſeverall Leading Members to oppoſe their Entrance*; — a matter of 40 *more withdrew*, for fear of violence. Their Crime was only the carrying of a *Vote for Peace* (already mentioned) the day before. This action was ſo Enormous, that the very *Contrivers* of it were aſhamed to own it: transferring That upon the *Army-Officers* which was done by their *own appointment*. They paſſed however a *Formall diſallowance of the violence, and ordered their diſcharge*; which yet the *Officers refuſed* (upon a *Combination* now moſt evident) — Obſerve this,

That which in 48. *they told us was an act of the Army-Officers, in* 59. *they call a Judgment of Parliament*; *and they juſtifie and continue That very Seclusion, by a Vote of Jan.* 5. 59. — *Which they Themſelves Condemned and Diſcharged by ſeverall Orders in Dec.* 48. The *Particulars* of theſe *Tranſactions*, are excellently delivered *by Mr. Prynne*, (*the Honour of the age*) *in his true and perfect Narrative*, as alſo, *in the Declaration of the true ſtate of the Secluded members*, *and in the Hiſtory of Independency.*

Return we now to the great *Teſt* of the *Spirits*, and *Deſigns* of the ſeveral *Parties*, and *Members* of the *Houſe*, and from that

Judgment, and *Diſcrimination* of *Perſons*, and *Humours*, we may learn ſeaſonably to provide againſt After-claps. This *Blow brake the Houſe of Commons into Three Pieces:*— *One Party, adhered to the Vote,---oppoſed the Violence;---Declared againſt it,---Claimed from time to time, their own and the Peoples Rights,---Pleaded the Covenant, and their Declarations, and ſtood it out. The Second ſort*, was not ſo well prepar'd for *Martyrdom*; a kind of *Barnacle*, neither *Fiſh* nor, *Fleſh*. This was a Party, that *Flew off at firſt, but ſoon retracted*; *----Herded again, and went along for Company*; my Charity perſwades me well, of diverſe of them, and that they mixed, rather in *hopes* to *moderate the Reſt, then in Deſign to ſtrengthen them*: A Party rather *Weak*, and *Paſſive*, than *Malicious*. But nothing can *excuſe* thoſe *ſons* of *Belial, the periur'd Remnant*; no, nor *expreſs* them --- Beſide their *Oathes* and *Covenant*, they have above a hundred times, in *Printed Declarations*, renounced the very *Thought* of what they ſince have executed. *Read the Exact Collections*, **We are** (ſay they) **ſo far from altering the Fundamental Conſtitution, and Government of this Kingdom by King, Lords and Commons.** *That we have only deſired, that with the conſent of the King, ſuch Powers may be ſetled in the Two Houſes, without which, we can have no Aſſurance, &c.* Theſe are the very words of their Declaration, *April* 17. 1646 *publiſhed by the Houſe of Commons, alone, toward the end of the war, and moſt remarquably entituled,*---**A Declaration of their true Intentions, concerning the Antient Government of the Nation and ſecuring the People againſt all Arbitrary Government.**--- Let this Quotation ſerve for All, leſt I exceed my Limits. Nor to inſiſt upon things *known*, and *publique*.---*How faithfully theſe People have managed their Original Truſt, - how ſtrictly they have kept their Oaths and Promiſes, -- how tenderly they have obſerved the Laws, and aſſerted our Freedoms*;--- *how poor they have made themſelves, to make us Rich*;--- *how Graciouſly they have aſſumed the Legiſlative power*; *and then, how modeſtly they have exerciſed it*: --- In fine; --- How *Free*, and *happily* we *lived under their Government*; *till Oliver plai'd Rex among them and threw*

threw them out by a Trick of their own Teaching. This was in April 1653. *It were worth the while, to enquire into the good they did us, during that 6 years Session,* but that I leave to *Needham.* Nor shall I far examine the *Protectors Reign*; by whose *advice*; --by what *assistance*; --- or by what *Laws he ruled*? --- how many of our late *Republicans* forgate themselves, and *sware Allegiance,* to a *single Person.* How many *things like Parliaments, he dispersed.*) --- It is enough; at last, he *died. Died,* --- in despight of *Priests,* and *Poets*; *Goodwin, &c.* The *former telling him from Heaven, that he should scape that Fit,* the *Other* telling us, --- (so needlesly.) ---

His Highness, having other things to think on, left his successor doubtfull, till (as they say) His *Secretary,* (*Then, one of* Ours, *now*) with *Goodwin,* (*His Prophetique Confessour*) *Swore his son Richard into the Protectorship. But he* (*Good Gentleman*) did not much *hurt, but peaceably resigned to Fleetwood, and Disborough;* and *They,* quite at a *Loss* for want of *Brains* and *Courage, called in the Fag-end of the old House, to their assistance*: So that those Members, which *Dived, in April* 53. came up again, *upon the 7th. of May,* 59. and acted as impetuously as ever: Till they were once again *unseated,* by the *Army*; *the* 13. *of Octob. last,* and then, *the Committe of Walling ford-house was invested with the Supreme Authority:* ('Tis but a *slippery Title* that of the *Sword*) This change, gave *General Monk* occasion to shew his *Charity* to his *Native Countrey*; by whose *Generosity,* and *Conduct,* the *Honest* and *Suffering* Party was *relieved,* and the *Phanatique Army dispersed,* without *Blood.* Hereupon, the Souldiery tack'd about once again; — *Lamented their backslidings*; *and on the 26th. of Decemb. following the Good-Old-Cause-men, re-enthron'd themselves*: more eager now, than formerly, against the *Re-admission of the secluded Members.* This barbarous, and *Arbitrary* proceeding, put the whole Nation upon a necessity of procuring *a Free and Full Representative*: to which end, they proposed Modestly, and Fairly, *the Restoring of the Excluded Members, and Filling up the House*; or else, the *Liberty* of a *New,* and *Legal choyce. For bringing Letters to this purpose,* Sir *Robert Pye,* and Major *Fin-*

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cher were impriſoned. This was an *Inſolence* too groſſe, to doe much Miſchief, but to Themſelves. *Are theſe the men,* (the People cryed) *that put the King to death, only upon Pretence of a Deſign,* to Erect and Uphold in himſelf, an Unlimited, and Tyrannical Power, to Rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights, and Liberties of the People, Yea, to Take away and make Void the Foundations thereof, and of all Remedy and Remedy of miſ-Government, which by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of FREQUENT AND SUCCESSIVE PARLIAMENTS? (*theſe are the words of the charge*) —That which was *Treaſon* in our *Lawfull Prince*, how comes it to be *Law*, now with *theſe Fellowes?* They took away the *Kings Life*, for but *Intending*, *the very thing they Act*; and we are to be *Hang'd*, for *Asking* only That, they *ſware* they *Fought for*. No; —they are a *Pack of cheats*; They *Murthered Him*, that they might Rule, *Themſelves*. The *Plot* was grown ſo *Rank*, the *Commune People ſmelt it*; and without more adoe, *aſſociated to free themſelves, from an infamous and perpetual bondage*. Witneſs that *Union*, (in their Declarations) both of *Demand* and *Reſolution*; againſt the *Equity* whereof, no man hath hitherto pretended the leaſt *Objection*.—

The Supreme Triſle; perceiving, an *Univerſall Application* to the *Generall*, in his paſſage; and *all*, ſpeaking the *ſame Sence*; Finding withall, that his *Excellence ſuſpended*, till he might hear *Both Parties*; and *Conſcious* to *Themſelves*, of no imaginable *Reaſon* to Oppoſe: Beſide: —Seeing themſelves *Declined*, and *Hated*;— Nay, and *Endangered by a Peremptory Agreement of the Nation*;— They did, at laſt, moſt graciouſly deſcend to promiſe us a *full Repreſentative*; but no *Secluded Members*, to be *admitted*, nor, in effect, any other then *Phanatiques*.

His *Excellency*, well weighing, what was Reaſoned *pro & con*: *made way for the Return of the Secluded Members*. This *Juſtice*, brake the neck of a Deſign, juſt then on Foot. This is the ſhort on't.— *The People were to be held at Gaze*, in expectation of a further ſatisfacti-

faction; till those Troops *which the Backside had ordered to that purpose, should have seised all the considerable Persons of the Kingdom.* Nay, they were *impudent* enough, to tempt the *General* himself into a Complication with them: But he was too discreet, not to distinguish where to *observe*, and where to *Leave* them. In fine, *That providence, which stills the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People*, hath put a *check* to their *Impetuous* and, *brutish fury.*

Next to our *Gratitude* to *Heaven*, let's have a care, not to be wanting in point of *prudence* to our *Selves. Nothing undoes us but Security.* We see, *who* are our *Friends*, and *who* our *Enemies*; *whom* we *may* trust, and whom we *must not.* We have paid *dear* for our *Experience*, and, sure, we have a Title to the *Benefit* of it. Let us look *Back*, and learn, from *Thence*, the menage of the *Future.*

It is a tedious while, this Nation ha's been toss'd betwixt *Two Factions*; *One* in the *Army*, the *Other* in the *Counsel*; *Both*, well enough Agreed to destroy *us*, but Jealous still, *One* of the *Other*, as *Don* sayes of *Ignatius*, concerning his Competitor in Hell, *He was content he should be Damned, but loth he should Govern. That's all the Quarrel:* the *Vizor* of *Religion*, is thrown aside long since. The *Conventicle cheats the* Souldier *this day*; *and he falls* upon the *Rump*, the *next:* in short; they do but *watch one the other, at the publick charge*; they may *snarle* where they please, but they *bite* none but *us*, and at the worst, *forgive their fellow-Theeves for robbing Honest Men.* This hath been their practise near these *dozen years.* Are we not yet convinc'd, that 'tis impossible it should be otherwise, while the *same people Govern us, with the same aim, and bound up by no other Laws, than their Own Wills?* I do not press any *resistance, Now*; but, certainly, *a readiness to protect Honester men*, in Case of an *Attempt*, were not amiss. We see, how dirtily they have used the *General*, and how unworthily their Instruments have laboured the *Army* into a *direct Tumult*; and all this *in order to a New Violence upon the House.* We see, what *Juggling* is used in the MILITIA: as *foysting in false Lists, to cast the strength of the Nation into the hands of mean, and Factious persons.* What *industry*, to hold

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us ſtill *unſetled*, by throwing in *impertinent*, *and dangerous Scruples*, to *delay* (at the *Faireſt*) if not *diſturb* the long deſired *Peace* we pray for.— He that ha's either *Honor* in his *Bloud*, or *Honeſty* in his *Heart*, is Reproached with a *King* in his *Belly*. ---- Then, for the *Qualifications*, theſe goodly Squires would have thruſt upon us, are they not pleaſant? *One* man of *Forty* ſhall be allowed to *Vote*, or *Sit*, and the other 39. muſt call *That* a *Free-Parliament*, and *ſwear, it Repreſents the People*.— We are not ſo *Blind* yet, nor ſo *Forgetfull*, as not to *ſee*, and *know*, ſome *Foxes* and ſome *Aſſes*, in the *Medly*; All are not *Saints* we *call* ſo. — *We do remember, who they were that ruled in* 48. and we are *ſenſible*, what *they* would do *ſtill*, if they had *Power*.---*We know, who brought in, who; but the Markets raiſed; our Heads will not off now at Fifty ſhillings a Hundred, as formerly.* In fine, let the *General*, *the Secluded Members*, *and the Honeſt Souldjers*, *live Long*, *Happily*, and *Beloved*; and let the *Reſt* take their *Fortune*. *I* could only wiſh his *Excellency* had been a little civiller to Mr. *Milton*; for, juſt as he had finiſhed his *Modell of a Common-Wealth*, directing in theſe very Terms, the *Choyce*;---men not addicted to a Single Perſon, or Houſe of Lords, and the Work is done. *In come the Secluded Members, and ſpoyle his Proje&t.* To this *admirable diſcovery*, he ſubjoynes a *ſuitable Propoſition* in favour of the *late ſitting Members*, and This is it, having premiſed the *Abilities* and *Honeſty*, *deſirable in Miniſters of State*, he recommends the *Rumpers* to us as ſo *Qualified*; *adviſes us to quit that fond Opinion of ſucceſſive Parliament*; and ſuffer the Perſons then in Power, *to perpetuate themſelves under the name of a Grand, or General Counſell*, and to rule *us*, and our *Heirs* for ever. — *It* were great pitty theſe Gentlemen ſhould loſe their longings: One word, and *I* have done. We live in dayly expectation of Writs for another Seſſion, if they Leave us as free, as they Found us, 'tis Well: if Not; 'tis but to *Turne* the *Tables*, and try Their menage of a Loſing Game.

THe Great Deſigne was now, to Diſappoint the Hopes we had of Good from the *Next Convention*, by *Continuing Themſelves*; or at the leaſt, to *Fool* the *People* into an *Expectation* of the ſame *Benefit* from the *Rump*, which we promiſed our Selves from a *Free Parliament*, and that way to Procure an Intereſt in the Next Seſſion. In order to this pittiful purpoſe, comes forth a wretched *Pamphlet*, Entit'led

No New Parliament.
OR
Some Quæres or Conſiderations humbly offered to The Preſent
PARLIAMENT MEMBERS.

☞ The *Occaſion* rather, then the thing it *ſelf*, drew from me This *Anſwer*.

Quære for Quære, &c.

ALthough *That Pamplet*, which Occaſions *This*, conſidered in it ſelf, is not *Worth a Reply*: Yet in regard of the *Contrivers*, and of the *End* it tends to, it may *Deſerve one*. I look upon it as nothing elſe, but the *Phanatiques late* Petition *ſlic'd into Quæres*, by ſome unskilful hands; and with a Harmleſs kind of *Simple Malice*, directed to elude *the Juſtice and Neceſſity of their great Patrons Diſſolution*.

I ſhall not much inſiſt upon the buſineſſe, beyond the Obligation of a *Formal Anſwer*: but I ſhall take ſuch heed to *That*, as to leave little place for a *Return*; and in the reſt, make the old ſaying good,

 that

that *One Fool may ask more Queſtions, than Twenty Wiſe men can Anſwer.*

His *Quære's* are as follows.

1. *Whether this be not the Parliament, and theſe the Perſons, who began the War with the late King? And if ſo, whether it doth not highly and neerly concern them even for their own ſakes, to be the Parliament that ſhall take up, and Cloze the Quarrel, and not leave it to others, eſpecially, if as the general voice goes, the Kings Son muſt be brought in?*

ANSWER.

THis *is not the* Original *Parliament*; *That* was compos'd of *Three Eſtates*; *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Further; *Theſe very Perſons now ſitting*, Declar'd the *King*, a *Party* with them in the *Quarrel*; *beginning the War in the Kings Name*; ----*For* Him, not *With* (that is, as it lies here *Againſt*) Him. If Thus; the *Houſe* muſt be *Divided* as well *now* in the *Queſtion*, as formerly it was ſo in the *War*. The *Parliament* (even in the *Queriſts ſenſe*) were *thoſe that* (ſuitably to their *Duties* and *Engagements*) *Voted a Peace*, in order to the *Preſervation of his Majeſty*, but there was a *Faction* too, that contrary to *Honour*, *Faith*, and *Conſcience*, *did forcibly ſeclude their Honeſter Fellows*, (by much the *Major Part*) and *Proſecute, and put to Death the King*; Thoſe that have been *Honeſt*, are *Safe*: nay and ſo ſhould thoſe be too, that will at laſt be ſo, by my Conſent: but I Demand,

What *Equity* or *Reaſon* is there, that *thoſe Perſons* who *Murthered* the *Father*, and are ſtill profeſſed *Enemies* to the *Son*, ſhould have an *Equal Benefit* with *Others*, that *were Affronted* for their *Loyalty* to the *Former*, and are *at preſent upbraided* (as if 'twere *Criminal*) for their *Affection* to the *Latter*? If the *Kings Son muſt be brought in, whether they will or no*, what have we to do further with *thoſe people*, that Declare they'll keep him *Out*, if they *Can*?

2. *Whether this* Parliaments *firſt undertaking and proſecuting the War with the late King were Juſt, and upon good and Warrantable Grounds?*

If

If it were (as no doubt it was) and God having by his Providence, after a long Interruption of ſome of them, and a longer Seclusion of the reſt, reſtored them to their truſt, whether they ought not now to ſtand to their firſt Good principles, maintain their firſt Good Cauſe, and ſecure all the good people that have been engaged with them, and by them?

ANSWER.

THe *War* was *Juſt*, in *that* part of the *Parliament*, which *Declared for the King, and Acted accordingly*, but *Unjuſt* in *theſe* that *Swore* to *Preſerve* him, and *Intended* to *Murther* him. That the *Parliament ought to ſtand to their firſt Good* Principles; we are Agreed. In ſo doing; *they are to bring to condigne puniſhment, ---the Infringers of their* Privileges, *---the Introducers of Arbitrary power, the Obſtructors of Succeſſive* Parliaments; *The Murtherers of the late King --the Subverters of the Eſtabliſh'd Government*, &c.

I grant you further, that *they are obliged to ſecure all the good people that engaged With them and by them*; but not conſequently all thoſe that *acted violently Againſt* and *Without them*, ---now my Queſtion.

How is it *poſſible* for thoſe that *Began upon* Principles *of Contradiction*, (as the *Saving* and *Deſtroying* of the *King*, &c.) *to ſtand to their Firſt principles*?

3. *Whether this be not that* Parliament, *and theſe the very perſons, who by the good eſteem they had among the people of their Integrity, Faithfulneſſe and Conſtancy; whether I ſay, this be not the* Parliament, *who by theſe and other means engaged the Honeſt, and well Affected of the Land in the aforeſaid War? And if ſo, whether this* Parliament *having now power in their hands, are not obliged in Duty and Good Conſcience to ſecure all the ſaid Honeſt and well affected people for this their Engaging and Acting under them, and not leave them as a prey to their profeſſed enemies, nor their terms of pece to be made by they know not whom? Another* Parliament, *which there is too great cauſe to fear, will be too much made up of ſuch as neither have been nor are friends to the* Parliaments *cauſe, nor to thoſe that engaged in it.*

ANSWER.

'Tis not the *Gaining* of a *good Eſteem*, but 'tis the *practice* of *Integrity*, that recommends a *Worthy perſon*. I may *believe well of a Cheat*, and ha' *my pocket pick'd*. But after that; *I ſhould deſerve a Yellow Coat*, ever to *truſt* that fellow *Again*, though he ſhould *plead*, *he had my good opinion formerly*. ---*Some* I confeſſe are yet in *Being*, of *thoſe whoſe Intereſt raiſed the War*, but *theſe* are not the men our *Quærift means*: (and beſide; the moſt *conſiderable* of that number, are in their *Graves*.) For the reſt; (to wave this Argument from Power to *Conſcience*.---) *Thoſe people that dare not abide the teſt of a Free, Legal* Parliament, muſt not preſume to *act themſelves*, as an Authority without *Law*, or *Limit*. In fine;---- *If this be the Same* Parliament, that *firſt engaged---then---*

Why ſhould the Secluders, and their Adherents; ---*Thoſe which by Force of arms Baffled this very* Parliament, *in* 48. *'ſcape better then the Cavaliers that fought againſt it, in* 42?

4. *Whether this be not the* Parliament, *who by many Declarations and Remonſtrances, by Proteſtation and Vow, by Solemn League and Covenant have declared and engaged themſelves before God, Angels, and Men, and have thereby drawen in, and therewith engaged all Honeſt people to aſſert and defend their juſt undertaking, and one another therein? Whether as things now ſtand, (when this juſt Cauſe, which through Gods aſſiſtance could not be won from us in the field, is in great danger to be ſtoln from us by the dark contrivances of its and our adverſaries) if this* Parliament *ſhould diſſolve at ſuch a time as this, and leave all, both Cauſe and all engaged by them in it to another* Parliament, *the greateſt part whereof may be no friends but enemies, or at leaſt ſtrangers, or but little concerned in the firſt undertaking; whether this would not be exceeding contrary to all thoſe Former Declarations, Remonſtrances, Proteſtation, Vow, and* Solemn League and Covenant?

ANSWER.

I Do allow--- the Members of this *preſent Seſſion*, are *thoſe perſons* that ſtand *engaged* by *Oath* and Covenant: and to that OATH and



and COVENANT, we *appeal*. ---For Granted; *they ſtand bound to protect all the* HONEST *people they have engaged*; but not the KNAVES,---the *Covenant-Breakers*; I deſire only this.---

Whether or *Not*, are they that *took* the *Covenant*, bound to protect the *Violaters* of it? --- Nay, can they purge themſelves of manifeſt *Perjury* and *Complication*, ſhould they not *proſecute* the obſtinate *Oppoſers* of it?

5. *Whether it be not more then ſufficiently manifeſt what will be the carriage of theſe Enemies to the Parliaments Cauſe, and its Adherents, when they get power into their hands, ſince they are ſo forward already in their diſcourſes to charge the Parliament with Treaſon and Rebellion in their firſt Undertaking the War, and look on all their Friends as Rebels and Traytors for aſſiſting them in the proſecution of it, and who are now in all places contriving and promoting the electing of ſuch into the New Parliament as are Enemies to the preſent Parliament, their Friends and Cauſe, wherein if they prevail (as 'tis too likely) their work is done? How abſolutely neceſſary is it then for the preſent Parliament to continue their Seſſion, for prevention of theſe Miſchiefs, which otherwiſe will enſue.*

Upon theſe and many other very weighty conſiderations, it can by no means be accounted either honourable, or juſt, or ſafe or prudent, for the preſent Parliament to diſſolve themſelves, till firſt they have fully aſſerted and vindicated their own juſt Undertaking, and the faithful adherents to it and them, and not to leave both themſelves and their Friends to the Malice and Revenge of a vanquiſht Enemy.

If this ſhould be, we may bid adieu *to the Honour and Renown of Engliſh Parliaments, and to all future hopes of aſſiſtance from the People, whatever the Neceſſity may be: And let Engliſh men bid farewell both to their Civill and Religious Liberties, if after ſo high a Conflict for them, with the expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, and having by Gods bleſſing ſubdued their Oppoſers, yet after all to be expoſed to a farr worſe Condition then before, which O God forbid: We hope for better things from our preſent Parliament: All that we add, is only this, If the King muſt come, none ſo fit to bring him as our preſent Parliament.*

'Tis

ANSWER.

'Tis not the *Parliament* is charged with *Treaſon*, but that *Rebellious Faction*;—*that, by an Inſolence, prævious to the Murther of his Sacred Majeſtie. threw out the Major Party of their Fellow-Members, which interpoſed to ſave him*----and 'tis in their behalfs, this *pittifull, half-witted Pamphleter engages.* Should theſe Gentlemen *ſit*, till they found a *Free Parliament their Friends*, they'd hardly *Riſe* betwixt *This*, and the *Day of Judgment*: and thats all they deſire. Alas! a Trifle.----The care they take of *our Religion*, and *Civill Rights*, in truth, is a *great favour* from *them*, that never underſtood their *Own*.——If the more *ſober, conſcientious* Perſons at the Helm, think not fit to *diſſolve* ſo *ſoon*; *the JONASSES, however muſt be thrown over-board, to ſave the Veſſel.*—He that *diſſents, let him produce his* Reaſons: and in *Particulars*, but ſhew what *Good*, they've either *Done*, or *Meant* us; to Ballance the *Calamities* they have ingaged us in. I ſhould be *Glad* to ſee theſe Men Repent; *Hardly*, to ſee them *Govern.*---*Theſe Folks* are Ruined, if they doe *not* Rule; the *Nation*, if they *doe*.----The Queſtion then is but ——

Whether is more prudential; by *ſaving* of *ſome half a ſcore Secluders*, that *we* ſhould *Periſh*; or by their SPEEDY DISSOLUTION, *that we ſhould ſave our ſelves?*

A Free Courſe of Succeſſe againſt the *Rump*, had put the People upon a *Follier* Pin; Their Humour was quite chang'd; They thought the Danger *Over*, and it was now become a Thing *Unſeaſonable* to be *Serious*.

Accounting it expedient however, through all Forms to *Follow* them, and *Fool* for *Company*, I was content to play the *Mimique*; as you may ſee in that which follows, Entit'led

No

No Fool to the Old Fool.

HEark ye my Maſters; — for one half quarter of an hour now, let's be as *Wiſe* as *Woodcocks*; and talk a little *Treaſon*. Why ſhould not *We* thrive in the World as well as our *Neighbours*? Had not other people *Heads* and *Souls* to loſe as well as *We*? If men will be *Damn'd*, they had better Damn *Rich* than *Poor*; as *Bradſhaw* and the *Attorney General* Damn'd. — Believe me, — *three or fourſcore thouſand pound is a convenient Plaſter for a Broken Head*; there's ſomething to bear *Charges* yet. Beſide, There's *Power* and *Plenty*. — They *Couſen* whom they pleaſe: -- *Hang* and *Draw* at *Will*; -- they keep their *Lacquays* and their *Whores*: and *at the laſt they go to Hell in Triumph*. They have their *Blacks* & *Elegies*, *and leave the State to pay the Draper and the Poet. Twould make a man be-piſſe himſelf, to ſee the ſoft and tender-hearted* Needham, *weeping* (like *Niobe*, till he turns *Stone*) *over the Tomb of* Bradſhaw, ---- *to ſee him Cry with one Eye, and laugh with the other, and yet the Tragi-comical Puppy keep his Countenance.* The *Tears* of ſuch a *Saint* cannot *but fall, like Drops of Lambeth Ale, upon the Tongue of Dives*, --- how great a Conſolation was it (think ye) to the *late Protector* to finde himſelf *placed at the right hand of God* by *Sterry*? (that *Blaſphemous, bold Phanatique*) of whoſe Condition, *Charity* it ſelf can ſcarce admit *a comfortable thought*. For, after a long Courſe of *Treaſon, Murther, Sacrilege, Perjury, Rapine*, &c. *he finiſh'd his accurſed Life*, in *Agony*, and *Fury*; *and without any mark of true Repentance*. You'll ſay, he was the *Braver Villain* for't. ---- Crimes of this large Extent have indeed ſomething that's Maſculine to allay them. But to be *Damn'd for Sneaking*; *To purchaſe Hell at the price of all that is pleaſant Here*:

to

----to contract *Sin* and *Beggery*, in the ſame *Act* and *Moment*; This is the moſt *Imprudent* and *Ridiculous* wickedneſſe that may be. He that *Indents* with the *Devil*, has a merry Bargain, compar'd with *Us*; *There's Time, and Pleaſure. Here*; *the Vengeance treads upon the Heels of the Offence*; and the *Puniſhment* of our Miſdoings is the next immediate *Effect* of them. In *Paying* Taxes, to an *Uſurped Power*; There's a *Defection* from the *Right*, and a *Complyance* with the *Wrong*, which renders us doubly Criminal,--- and in this caſe we do but *Buy* our *Chains*, and the next Conſequent of our *Diſobedience*, is *Slavery*. It comes all to a Point, *in what concerns Subjection to Unlawfull Powers*. **Under a Force**, --is a *Bruriſh Argument*. *Vice is the Obliquity of the Will*: *That's Free*. The ſame *Plea* lies in the Caſe of *Martyrdom*: and *by the ſame Rule we may renounce our Maker*.

If *Wicked*, we're Reſolv'd to be,---Lets go a nobler way to work —let's get a matter of *Half a Dozen Crafty Knaves* together; take in ſome *Thirty* or *Forty ſilly Raſcals* into the Gang, and call our ſelves a *Parliament*. Why Gentlemen? This is no impoſſible thing, *Our Title* is as good as *Theirs*, that ha' done the ſame thing before us; but then be ſure of the *Proportion*. *Seven parts of Eight* muſt have neither *Wit* nor *Honeſty*: yet *Look as wiſe as Judges, and in the very middle of their Pater-Noſters, pick their Neighbours pockets*. Theſe are to be directed by the *Rooks*, and by them *Both*, the *Nation*, which would be *over-ſtocked* with *Cheats*, were any more admitted into the *Grand Conſpiracy againſt the People*. To *Perſonall* abuſes, the reſt are likewiſe *Qualified*: They may *Impriſon*, *When*, *Where*, and *Whom* they pleaſe, without Cauſe ſhewed, their *Will* is a ſufficient *Warrant* for the *Well-affected*. In fine, they *are the* Peoples *voice*, *and That's the voice of Heaven*.

Why now ſhould we *deſpair* of the *ſame Events*, from the *ſame Means*, conſidering, what a *Drowſie*, *Patient*, *and* Phlegmatick *people* we have to deal with? Shall's *Fool* a Little? Lets Vote down *Magna Charta*, *and the Petition of* Right! *Settle a Preaching Militia*, *and a Fighting Miniſtry*? ----Out with our *Whinyards*, and off with

with the *Names*, instead of the *Heads* of the *Kings Tryers*; *as* Okey *did upon the Change*. *Take away* Monk's *Commission*; *Petition the Souldiery to Petition us, to declare our selves Perpetual*; --- *Bind up the Nation* under *Limitations* for the next *Session*, and exclude all but our own party from the *Choise*. No matter for the *Law* or *Conscience* of the business --- ARTICLES OF SURRENDER; *and Publick ACTS of INDEMNITY*, amount to nothing,---OATHS and COVENANTS, *are but occasionall Submissions to Conveniency*; not Binding any man, that in the very act of *Taking* them, resolves to *Break* them. Let things come to the Worst; when we have *Overturned* the *Government*;---*Polluted* the very *Altar*, with our MASTERS BLOOD---*Cheated the Publick*, &c. 'Tis but to *Whine* and *Snivel* to the *People*; tell them we were *mis-led*, by *Cardinall Appetites*; cloath all our *Rogueries* in *Scripture-Phrase*---*Humble our selves before the Lord* (But not a Syllable concerning Restitution) and they'l *Forgive* us: Nay, perhaps, *Trust* us too: Think us their *Friends*, *For doing* them *no more* than *all the Harme we could*. --- 'Tis a good natur'd sort of *Beast*,---the *Common-People*, if it be *Pleased*; and 'tis the *Easiest* thing in nature, for *Fools* and *Knaves* to *Please* it. They have not been gull'd half long enough yet,--what will you say now, to a New-Parliament *made of an* Old one? As *Ther's no Fool to the Old one*, so there's no *Knave* to the *Old one*.

What do ye think of your *Episcopal Cole-marchant* Sir *Arthur*, for *Durham*: and let *him* bring in his *Fellow-Labourer* Sir *Harry Vane* for *Newcastle*? In the City of *London*, you cannot choose amiss, provided, that *Ireton* or *Titchburn*, be *One*; and that he choose his *Fellows*.---For *Kent*, no Man like Sir *Michael Livesy*, For *Norfolk* there's *Miles Corbet*, and if the *House* does not like him, they may send him to the *Red-Bull*; for he personates a *Fool* or a *Devill* without the *Charge* either of a *Habit* or a *Vizor*. If the Nation be so *Charitably* disposed, as to erect an *Hospitall*, in favour of the *Lame*, the *Rotten*, and the *Blind*, let 'um take in *Limping Lyke Robinson*; *Rheumatique Mounson*, *Bobtail'd Scot*; and the *Blinking Cobler*.---But why do I pretend to direct in *Particular*?---

Among the *Kings Tryers, Exciſe-men, Sequeſtrators, Cluſe-Committee-men, Major-Generalls, Buyers and Sellers of the Crown and Church-Lands, &c. — they may wink and chuſe.* Alas, they're all *Converted. I'm ſure he's Right*, cryes one; he Told me ſo. *Dull Sotts* let *Us* be *Right* our *Selves*; and then, what need we care who's *Wrong*? I'll put a *Caſe* to you: ſuppoſe, upon the *Diſſolution* of this *Seſſion, ſix or ſeven thouſand of the Phanatique Souldjery, that knowes no Settlement deſtroyes their Trade. ſhould try a Blow for't* yet; and by the help of ſome of their **Confederates**, yet in appearance of **Authority**, *ſhould put a Force upon the Honeſt Party*: ('Tis but to *ſuppoſe*, what many of that *Gang* are bold enough in *Publique* to *declare*) I have a Phanſy you'l *lock on* ſtill, and betake your ſelves to your *Old ſenſeleſs Plea*, —**They have the Power.**—Which, if you do ——No no; you cannot be ſo *Tame*, and *witleſſe*.

☞ Be *carefull* whom you *Truſt*, either in your *Militia*, or *Counſels*; Chuſe Perſons of *Eſtates* **honeſtly gotten**; **Such, whom the Law Preſerves, will Preſerve the Law.** Whereas, *If you chuſe ſuch as have an intereſt of their Own, that th'warts the Publique; you're very Charitable to believe that thoſe people, who all this while, have Cheate You to benefit them Selves, ſhould, at the laſt, adventure All to preſerve You.* *March* 16. 1659.

UPon the *Diſſolution* of the *Houſe*, the *Phanatick* party betook themſelves to their wonted Inſolence. Declaring publickly (divers of them) that they were not *Diſſolved*: Offering to ſit again; and proteſting againſt the Choice of the next *Convention*. They ramper'd the Army into a Combination; and proceeded to that point of Boldneſſe, that the *Common-Counſel* found it proper to entreat the *Counſel of State*, and the *General to retire into the City, during that Interval of Parliament; for their greater Security.*

March 19.

Obſerving the Leud Practiſes of the *Faction*; and deſirous to give the world ſome notice of Particulars, in Order to the better Knowledge of them, I printed this enſuing Paper. That

THat this Nation hath been long miſerable, under the power of a *violent* and *Reſtleſs Faction*, is clear to all ſuch as are endued with *Memory*, and *Reaſon*: nor is it more *ſuperfluous*, to reflect upon their *paſs'd Miſcariages* than *Neceſſary* to take ſome notice of their *Later Cheats*, and *Inſolencies*. Their *Deſign* was, *to fix themſelves in a* Perpetual *Counſel*; *contrary* to *Oath*, and *Law*; *and to cut off ſucceſſive Parliaments*. To carry on which Project, they had *Armed* all ſorts of *Libertines*, throughout the *Nation*; particularly, *threatning London with Fire and Sword, if they ſhould not comply*. Their barbarous purpoſes were *Diſappointed*, by the *General's Re-introduction* of the *Secluded Members*: Together, with the united *rage* of the *People* againſt them. *In* this *hopeleſs* and *Deſerted* condition. what they could not *effect* by *open Force*, they *attempted* by *Treachery*, and *Corruption*. They uſed all *Art*, and *Diligence*, during the *Seſſion*, both to *gain Opportunities*, and to *Improve* them; but being *over-voted* in the *Main*, They fell upon a more direct, and ſhameleſs method of Villany. — *They falſified the Liſts of the Militia*: — *ſollicited Petitions from the City, for their Continuance*: — *Juggled the Army-Officers into a Tumult*, — *Employed their Inſtruments to Deſtroy the General*; — *Mutinyed the Army, and the* City; *and Finally, they engaged a great part of the Souldjery to Remonſtrate againſt the reſt of the Nation*. But all too little, to *prevent* their *Diſſolution*; or to *Diſturb* our *Hopes* of *Settlement*.

The *General* hath approved himſelf, in the *calm*, *ſteady menage* of this *wild Affair*, *a Perſon worthy of all the Honour we can give him*. Theſe *Britiſh Libertines*, — finding all their *Plots Bubbled*, — their *Mines vented*, — their *Party*, *Weak* and *Heartleſs*, — *themſelves Friendleſs Abroad*, and *Comfortleſs at Home*, — as *Guilty*, and as *Deſperate* as *Cain*; after the ſad *deſpair* of any the leaſt *Benefit* to *themſelves*, they are yet *pleaſed* in the *Contrivance* of *our Miſchief*; *They're not Diſſolved*, they tell us, — *and attempt to meet again*; Thats in vain; and now they come to their laſt ſhifts, *Theſe Senſeleſſe Cox-combs offer the Honeſt General the Inſtrument of Government*; as

if, that *Noble, Generous Soul*, were to be wrought upon, to prostitute his *Honour*, and his *safety*; and all this, *to preserve a Kennel of such Reprobated, and Ridiculous Puppies.* I wonder seriously, how these *Pimps*, and *Knights o'th Post*, — *Scot* and *his Fellows*, scape the fury of the *People*: That *Rabbet-sucking Rascall*, with his *Fellow Cheats*, and *Pandars*; these are the Youths. Gentlemen, *that offer you like Doggs, to any Master, that will bestow the Haltering of you.* For shame, bethink your selves.

To be as short as possible, thus farr you're safe: but yet these *Tumblers* have not shew'd all their *Tricks*: their last Recourse, is to the *Forgery of Letters*; (but so ridiculously framed, they are rather argument of *Sport*, than *Anger*: for the *Brewer* is much better at a *Cheat*, than at a *Stratagem*) *There are diverse Scandalous Papers dispersed*, in the *Name* of the *King*; and *as the sense of the Royall Party.* You shall do well, to take notice, that nothing of *that Quality*, proceeds either from *Himself*, or his *Friends.* The *Project* is *Phanatique*, and tends only to hinder our *Expected*, and *Approaching Settlement.* To mention *One* for *All*; there is a *Phamphlet of yesterday, Entituled* —— *News from Brussels, in a Letter from a near attendant on his Majesties Person, to a Person of Honour Here* — **Which Casually became thus Publick.**

Do but observe this *Formall Noddy*, how he *Boggles* upon the very *Title-page.* — **How Casually**, *Good-man Sense-lesse?* Did it *Drop* into a *Printing House*, and *Publish it self?* — his *Title* is followed, with a *Suitable Text*; of so Pityfull an *Ayre*, and *Fashion*, I am ashamed to confesse the reading of it. Indeed I would advise the *Secretary*, rather to returne to his *Placket-Politiques*, for he is not half so good at *State*, as *Bawdery.* To deliver his aim in other termes, for fear of giving the Reader a *Vomit.* The principal drift of his discourse is to *Personate a Royalist*, *Charging the Presbyterians with the murther of the King, and professing an Implacable Animosity against the whole party.* — Not to employ more subtilty than needs upon so Frivolous a Subject. Let this suffice.

Who *Murthered the King*, the Nation *knowes*; and who interposed

posed to *Save* him; — who they are, that at this instant, *Oppose* a *Settlement*, and who *Desire* it; Nay More; we know, who cannot Live *Under* a *Peaceable Government*, and who cannot Live *without* it: And it is fit to shew all honest people to distinguish.

Those, that have designed *us* for *Slavery*, it is but reason to mark *them* out for *Justice*; yet I should advise *tenderness*; whereby *saving* a Few, *Infamous Malefactours*, we do not *hazzard* a more *Considerable Loss*. *He that Forgives them, extends his Charity, but he that Trusts a man of them, Betrayes his Countrey.*

March. 24. 1659.

THe *Agitators* were now grown so Busie in the *Army*, that the Counsel of State put forth a *Proclamation* against them; and had not the singular prudence of the *General* check'd the Malice of that *Confederacy*, It would have prov'd of dangerous Consequence. Finding themselves thus disappointed of those early hopes they had as to the Army: Their next Trick was to procure Elections for their purpose: and this they laboured to effect, by Tampering with the *Sheriffs*, where they found any capable of a *Practise*: and by their Interest in some pedling *Factious Boroughs*, to get Themselves and their Friends chosen.

This being the present Danger, I Dispersed some Hundreds of *Papers*, the *Title* and *Coppy* whereof follows.

A Necessary and Seasonable Caution, Concerning Elections.

THe miserable distemper of this Nation, arising principally from Abuse of Trust, practised by those Persons, whom we chose to Represent the People; it concerns us

us now at last, to provide warily against future Inconveniences, by a more diligent Examination, and Knowledg of those we elect for the time to come. We find the *Nation Impoverished*; the *Government* both of *Church* and *State dissolved*; and all the *Supports* of a *Puplick Magistracie devoured*, by those very people, who instead of Freeing us from Smal and few miscariages, (themselves) notoriously exercised over us the greatest oppressions Imaginable. For prevention of the like evils hereafter, we are to be very wary how we chuse;

1. Such persons as *Preach* without a *Call*, and deliver the *Delusions* of *Satan*, for the *Inspirations* of the *Holy Spirit*; (*We may know the Tree by its Fruit.*)
2. Such as either out of *Fear*, or *Interest*, Sacrifice the *Publique Good* to *Passion*, or *Benefit*, shifting from Party to Party; This Day for the *King and Parliament*; the next, *Pensioners* to the *Protectour*, the *Third* for the *Rump*; the *Fourth* for any thing that comes next. Under this notion, I comprise such as make use of a *Parliament-Priviledge*, *to Elude Creditors*, *to Detain ill-gotten Possessions*, and to put themselves out of the *Reach* of the *Law*; thereby hindering the due course of Proceedings against them.
3. And Lastly, take heed of chusing any Persons that have already Falsified their Trust, — by engaging in *Illegall Close-Committees*: — In any Relation whatsoever of *Malice* towards the *Late King*, in *Purchasers*, or *Sellers* of the *Publique Revenues*: — In *Usurped Impositions* upon the People. In Short; such, as have at the price of an Universal Ruine, enriched Themselves; and *laid* the *Foundations* of *their New Babel*, in *Sacriledge*, *Perjury*, *Murther* and *Treason*.

This may suffice for a Caution to all such, as are not resolved upon *Beggery*, and *Bondage*.

The

THe *Phanaticks* had at this time many Irons in the Fire, and not without Reason, for they had many Difficulties to Encounter. Their Instant and most pressing Concern was to Nip the *Militia* in the Bud; and either totally to hinder the next appointed Choice, or so to Qualifie and Over-awe it, that we should only be subjected still to the same Faction, with somewhat more *Pretense* of Equity and Form. They knew the Vote and Strength of the whole Nation would be against them. And they set all their Heads and Hands at work to disappoint it. Briefly; they had their Firebrands in the City; their bold and publick Agents in the Countrey: but their great Trust was in the Army; where they had poyson'd a Considerable party; And by whose Ayd they made no doubt of *Lambert*, (tho then a *Prisoner*) to head them, so soon as the Designe were Ripe enough to need him.

Upon this point of Exigence (that nothing might be wanting to procure another War) they cast abroad in Swarms, Seditious *Pamphlets*; tending not only to Disgrace the Person, and the Office of the King, his Fathers Memory, his *Friends*, and *Cause*, but likewise to provoke the *Weaker*, and the lesse *Considerate* men *of his own Party*, by an Unseasonable and Mistaking Zeal to blast the Businesse. The *Rise* and *Course* of the whole war is search'd into, for *Matter* to involve the *Murtherers* of the King with those that would have *Sav'd* him, in the same *Hazard*, *Interest*, *Crime*, and *Quarrel*.

One of the Modestest of these Discourses was put into my hand, with an Express Desire that *I* would print an Answer to it, which accordingly I did: but rather for my promise sake, then that *I* thought it worth the while; ---and *This* was it.

A Sober Answer to a Jugling Pamphlet, Entituled, a LETTER INTERCEPTED, &c.

I Have heard of one that has made *himself* a *Cuckold*, — that has pick'd his *own pocket*, — and tis possible, a man may Design upon *himself*, and *Intercept his own Letters*. The *Miscariage*, I confesse, is a little *odd*, where the *Courted party*, — the *Contriver*, — and the *Intercepter*, are all *One*, and *the same Person*. The *Plot* is Borrowed from the Story of *Narcissus*; but by what Enemy both to the *Author*, and *Reader*, this Discourse is made *Publique* to an Enquiry fitter for *Authority*, than a *Private hand*. Since so it is, lets make the best of a bad Market: what the *Composer* has sold *Cheap*, — We have *Bought Dear*, and *Both* must *Lose* by the *Bargain*. Without further *Prologue* Here's *SIR POLITIQUE himself*, and we'll take the measure of the man from his *Title page*. *A LETTER INTERCEPTED*, — *Printed for the use and Benefit of the Ingenuous Reader* — *in which the Two Different Formes of MONARCHY*, and *POPULAR GOVERNMENT*, *are briefly Controverted*: — *The Commonwealth Party Advised not to Buy this Book*. — *Dum Gemit EXUNGUE LEONEM*. The *VOICE* is JACOB'S, but the *HANDS* are ESAU'S. *Popular Arguments* are of late become such a *Drugg*, the *Author* dares not own his *Inclination*, for fear the *Pamphlet* should not off: but rather chuses, under the colour of a *Philosophical Debate*, to advance a *Seditious Design*; and instead of delivering a *sober Opinion*, to excite a *turbulent* Faction. This will appear

pear in its due place; but in the *Front*, 'twas not ſo proper to diſcloſe himſelf. *The Title is but a more formal kind of* Bo-peep, —*a couſenage* of the *Reader* into a *Two-penny expence*, upon a thing not worth *Three-ha'pence*.

In the *next page*, you'll find him more *compoſed*, and *Magiſterial*. He *complements himſelf*, *Kiſſes his own fair Hand*, — Promiſes us an *Honeſt*, *Plain*, *Rationall Diſcourſe*, not clogg'd with *Maxims*, or *Examples*; and then he falls to the work upon the *Queſtion*.

Whether Monarchy, or the Popular Form of Government, be in Reaſon more ſafe and profitable for the People? [*pag.* 2.]

He proceeds thence, to *Diſtinguiſh Monarchy into Abſolute, and Mixt or Regulated*, [*ibid.*] (tho', by his Favour, *Mixt, implies a contradiction.*)

The Abſolute (he ſayes) *is Abſolutely Unlawfull; and diſconſonant both to the Lawes of God and Nature*

If either *One*, or the *Other*: How comes it then, that *God himſelf*, ſtiles *NEBUCHADNEZZAR* (*the King of Babylon*) *HIS SERVANT*: upon the moſt *expreſs*, and *ſevere penalties* imaginable, *commanding* an *Obedience* to him? What means the Prophet *David* when he ſayes----*The Lord keep me from doing that thing unto my Maſter*, *THE LORDS ANNOINTED*? That *Tyrants Life*, *which purſued his*, *was then at his Mercy*; and a *Phanatique Counſel*, *at his Elbow*, *adviſing* him, to improve the *Providential* Opportunity of taking it away; (but our Common-Wealth's-men are *wiſer*, poſſibly, and *Honeſter*, than *David*.) This might ſuffice; but *He* goes on, and ſo ſhall *I*, to bear him Company.---

It is againſt the Moral Law, (he tells us) *for me to diſpoſe of my own life; ſince that Law, which Commands me, not to kill; does certainly require me, not to kill my ſelf, and the Law of Nature and Nations, does warrant any man to kill, rather than to be kill'd. But He, that willingly and of Choyce, lives under a monarchy abſolute, muſt, and doth ſubmit all that he hath, Life not excepted, to be at the will of the Monarch, &c.* [*pag.*]

What pains this worthy Gentleman takes, to prove himself as good a *Statesman*, as he is a *Casuist*; Is not my Life as well exposed to any Government? Since whersoever you place the *Rule*, the *last* appeale lies *There*; and *There's the power of Life and Death, by the Agreement of all Nations.* Again, *An absolute Monarch* must be *wicked*, to destroy a *Loyal Subject*: and if a *Limited*, will be so *Impious* too, there's no *Relief*, but *Flight*. *The right of self preservation*, which our Author Intimates; concerns but *Individuals*, at Liberty;---*Grotius* his *Dissociatam Multitudinem*. There, *Every man is every Bodies Enemy*: but when we come to finde, that *safety*, better secured by *social Compact*; *and by reducing all the several, and Dis-agreeing Particulars, under the Regiment of some certain Lawes directing to the Common benefit of all*: In this Case, we part with our *Original Right*, for the obtaining of a *Nobler Good*;--- *Society, and Order*; without which, there's no *Peace*. I might here *mind* our *Prevaricating Author*, of a *Morality* which he *forgets*, and that's *Obedience*. *Rebellion is a Blacker Crime, than Murther*; for it is *That*, and *More*; but *I* would first convince him, that *Killing* is not alwaies *Murther* and that in many cases, a man must rather chuse to *be Killed, than Kill*. The *Law* strikes with the Sword of Justice; and sure it is not *Murther*, by a *Legal process*, to *destroy a Malefactor*. 'Twere *That at least in me*, to *Kill the Judge*, to save my self. (But I suppose, our Author speaks his *Interest*, rather than his *Opinion*) In fine, I cannot justifie the *Commission* of a *sin* to *save my Life*. To draw my Sword against my *Prince* although to save my *self*, in *me*, is *Treason*: but if *I lose my Life*, by not *opposing Him*, 'tis *He* alone that's *Criminall*, I am *Innocent*. Nor does the *choice* alter the Case one jot; if *I* may *Obey* an *Absolute Monarch*, I am as free to *chuse* One, where *I* am at Liberty to chuse the Form I would be govern'd by. *It* is the *Rulers part*, not to *command amiss*, and 'tis the *Subjects Duty* to *Obey*; (*modo nihil Imperet, Naturali Iuri, aut Divinis præceptis Contrarium*) and at the worst; *refuse*, without *Resisting*.

Nay, but our Author tells us;--- *A Free People, that have it in their*

their choice, and Power (as England now) to do otherwise, and shall submit their Lives to the will, and dispose of an absolute Monarch, are most evidently thereby, in danger of becoming guilty of self-Murther] [pag. 3]

Go thy waies *N. D.* for a profound Head piece! —— They are in more danger of *self-murther*, in submitting to a *Limited Monarch* that is, of Hanging themselves, if the *King* should come. Was there ever a more exorbitant Tyrant than *Cromwell*? Our *Freemen* were content enough with him. Come :— out wit, Our modeller would speak, if he had a spoon, but the man is modest; I'le do't for him. 'Tis this he would be at.

That we are now at Liberty to chuse our Government; and that the King would play the Tyrant, should be return. If his own Head does not sit sure. He may thank himself. I would fain learn, from whence we *date* our *Freedom*. Who has ABSOLVED us, of our OATHS, and DUTIES of ALLEGEANCE? Did we not *swear* to the *late King*, and to his *Heirs*? And *can a Government be altered, but by Consent of all the Parties to it*? This is too much said, upon a subject not properly my *Business*. I'll proceed and wait upon him to his next Enquiry; and that's concerning *Regulated* Monarchy; but so *Embroyled*, 'tis infinitely harder to *understand* than to *confute*. Of *Regulated Monarchies*, Ours here in *England* is beholden to him, *he likes that best*, and gives his Reason, *Thus; The Excellency of that Monarchy*, WAS, *that the Monarch without his Counsell could do no considerable thing.*] [*pag.* 3.]

By his fair leave, the *Excellency* of the GOVERNMENT, he would have said: for 'tis the *Imperfection* of the *Monarchy*. But why WAS? IS it not, *de Jure*, still the *same*?

He prosecutes this Train of *Errors*, yet with more;

All things were to be done in conjunction with his Counsell; either that Grand one, his Parliament, consisting of Nobles, and Commons; or his Lesser Counsell, consisting of Nobles chiefly, &c.]

Our Author, I perceive, is willing to confound *Counsell*, and *Authority*: Whereas to *represent*, is *one* thing; 'tis *another* thing to *Judge*. *It* is the *Counsell's duty* to *propose*, and *advise*, according

to *their* Reaſon, but ſtill it is the *Monarch*'s part to *Act* according to his *own*: *without that Freedom, the Prince is bound to Act in many Caſes againſt his* Conſcience; and his *Aſſiſtants* are become his *Governours*. Not to inſiſt upon the Gentleman's *miſtake*, in aſſerting *All things to be done in conjunction with his Counſell*. This is too evident, to need a refutation. He ſpends his two next Pages, in dilating upon the *Deſire of abſolute Power in the Monarch*; *and the Reſerves, or acquiſitions of the* People; were he daſhes the *Kings Prerogative*, and the *Privileges of Parliament*, the *One* againſt the *Other*. Whereas the *King* hath ſome *Prerogatives* without a *Parliament*, but the *Parliament* hath not ſo much as any *Being*, without the *King*: (he being an eſſentiall of it.)

To paſs over his *Falſe-fires*, I ſhall come now to his *main ſtrength*: And thus it runs —

The Monarch cannot Rationally be thought to have other Buſineſs, or Study, than to confirm, and eſtabliſh the Monarchy to himſelf. [pag. 5.]

To this: Firſt, Hee's *Entitled* to the *Government*: (*That, pro conceſſo*) Next; hee's *Entruſted*, in Order to the *Publique Welfare*, to *Uphold* it; and That, not only in the *Form*, but *to Himſelf*: 'Twere to Betray his Truſt, ſhould he do leſs.

As to the *appetite* of *Rule*, which (as our *Popular Champion* will have it) tranſports the *Monarch*, into a dangerous elevation above the *People*: —That *Reſtleſs Impotency*, is much more Hazzardous, in any *other Government*, than in that of *Monarchy*. For, the *Monarch*'s *upper-moſt already*: and *rationally*. *Ambition* ſeeks rather to *Raiſe* it ſelf *above all others*, than when 'tis at that *Height*, ſtill to *exceed it ſelf*. *'Tis but a glorious envy, which aſpires till it be higheſt, and there determines.*

As there is leſs *temptation* from *without*, ſo muſt the *inclination*, be much *calmer*. *Greatneſs is native* and *familiar* to the *Monarch*: or, in caſe any *eagerneſs* of *Spirit* ſhould *enflame* him; It ſpends it ſelf upon his *Neighbours liberties*, rather than upon his *Peoples*: and 'tis *extent* of *Empire abroad*, not *enlargement* of *Prerogative* at *home*, he *covets*.

This

This is not to exempt the *Perſon* of a *Prince*, from the *frailties* of a *Man*: he may be *vitious*. But that too with leſs miſchief to the *publique* than to *Himſelf*. He ha's no *private aims*, but what proceed from *Principles* nearer ally'd to *Kindneſs*; then to *Malice*.

Now, to examine the likely *Incidences to popular Government*, and to proceed upon his *Poſtulatum*, *That in all men there's an inbred appetency of Power*. That granted, what can we expect from Perſons of *mean Fortunes*, and *extraction*, (*inveſted with a title to Dominion*) but *Bondage*, and *Oppreſſion*? The ſhort is, there are *many men*, ---- earneſtly *intent* upon the *ſame end*; *ſpurr'd* on by *keen* and *craving Deſires*, to make themſelves *Rich*, *Great*; and theſe deſign to raiſe their *Fortunes*, and *Reputations* upon the *publick ſtock* of *blood and treaſure*. At laſt when they have *skrewed* themſelves up to that *pitch* of *Power*, by *force*, and *craft*, where *divine providence*, by *birth*, had placed the *ſingle Perſon*: ---- when after a *ſharp*, *long*, and *chargeable conteſt*, they have brought us within view but of the *counterfeit* of what we *quietly* enjoy'd before: Ready to ſeize the ſum of their own *wiſhes*; and the *dear-purchas'd Fruit* of all their *Labours*: ---- they find that *point*, which ſupports *Soveraignty*, too *narrow* for them *all*; too *large* for any *one* of them; -- and, as they *climbed* together, ſo they *fall*; ---- *cruſh'd by thoſe Hands, and Principles that rais'd them*. We need not look far Back for *inſtances*. What ha's obſtructed our long look'd-for *Settlement*, but *Competitours for a perſonal rule*; even among the *Salus-populi-men* themſelves? 'Tis *nobler at the worſt, to yield our ſelves to prey to a ſingle Lyon, than to a Herd of Wolves*: and that's the Difference, upon *experiment*, betwixt the *tyranny* of *One*, and of a *Hundred*? (--- old *Oliver*, and the *Rump*.) Methinks 'tis a ſtrange Confidence, to Argue for a *Cauſe*, confuted by the loſs ſo many *Lives* and *Millions*. For theſe twelve years laſt paſt, we have been *Slaves* to *Tyrants*; *Divided*, in deſign to *ſupplant one another*, but ſtill *United*, *to deſtroy the Nation*, under the gay amuſement of a *Free-ſtate*. But I grow tedious.

The

The next thing I take notice of, is very *remarkable* (i.e.) *Our Author's in the right*-- he ſayes that *From the Soveraignty there lies no appeal.* But then he follows; that *where a People will be ruled by a King they muſt give that King abſolute power to Govern.*] [*pag.*6.]

No need of that ſure neither, --- *the Soveraignty is in the King, tho' in a Limited* Monarchy: which ſo attemper'd; as that the *People* may not Rule in *any* Caſe, nor the *King*, (ſingly by himſelf) in *All*; *ſecures all Intereſts.* I muſt fix one note here, before I paſs.

Although *our Author* tellsus, [*pag.*7.] that *Abſolute* Monarchy *is unlawful; & Regulated, Dangerous: nevertheleſs, he rather adviſes the former than the latter*; --- *That*, which he terms *Diſconſonant to the Laws of God*, than the *Other*, which he pronounces only *Dangerous*, as related to the *civill Good*, and *Utillity* of the *People.*

This is the *Method* of the whoſe party; they decry, firſt, the *Form* it ſelf, as being too *Tyrannical*; yet they condemn, the *Limited* of *Inſufficience*, as to the *Exerciſe of Government*; and the *abſolute*, of *Exorbitancy*, as to the *End* of it. *One* has too *much Liberty* the *Other* too *Little.* What is't they offer in Exchange? a *Free-State*;--- of a *Model*, ten times more *Arbitrary* and *Pernicious.* When they have ſpent their *Powder* upon the *Government*; (for 'tis but *Powder*) their *Shot* is ſtill directed to the *Perſon. Hinc illæ Lachrymæ.* How have they courted the *Generall*, (whoſe *Honeſty*, is as *Invincible* as his *Courage*) to *Accept* of what theſe *Paper-Kites* ſo much diſclaim againſt? Our *Grave*, *Philoſophiſing* Mounſieur, he makes *one* too, and tells us,---that *Providence hath caſt the Lot upon the Peoples ſide, and the Monarch has loſt, if the People will exclude him.*---

Alas Good man! *the Congregation's Holy every one of them*--*Pretious Beagles!* to aſcribe that to *Providence*, which they owe to *Periury*, and *Sacriledge.* Where's your *Preſcription*? Wheres your *Title*? Enform the *People*, by what power they are *abſolved* from all their *ties* of *Conſcience*: *Honour*, *Thankfulneſs*, and *Piety. Shew them the Laws their Fathers purchaſed with their Bloods. Preach to them out of* Magna Charta. *There's the Foundation of the Peoples*

Free-

Freedoms. But Sir I ask you pardon; The *Kings* a *woolf* you ſay, and all the *abjuring Saints* are *Lambs*, I warrant ye. But by your leave once more; you are abſolutely of Opinion then, not to admit the *King* by any manner of means? --Indeed you ſhould do well, not to *Anticipate the Parliament*, it ſpoyles the project, to play the *Tyrant*, while you argue for the *People*. Pray let the *King* come in if the next *Parliament* pleaſes.---

I muſt be now a little ſerious; for your next Paragraph has a ſpice of *Conſcience* in't (the *Word* I *mean*) you will perſwade the World, that if the *King comes in*; 'tis neither *Faith*, nor *Honour*, nor *Humanity*, nor *all together*, can tye up his *Revenge*. It would become you to tell the *People*, where ere he *brake* his *Faith*; Nay, Ill content my ſelf, if you'll but ſhew *me*, where ever your *Phanatiques Kept* an *Oath*, or *Promiſe*, if they might *gain* (the *leaſt*) by *Breaking* of it. The *Converſation* of the *Perſon* you inveigh againſt is beyound all *Exception*, *Honourable*: and 'tis in vain to *miſ-enform*, againſt an *evident* and *contrary aſſurance*. Many of thoſe very men that *fought againſt* him, will *witneſs for* him: both for his *Courage*, and his *Clemency*. His *Prudence*, and his *Piety*, are manifeſt, in This: that in deſpight of all *Diſtreſſes*, and *Temptations*, he ſtands *Firm*, to his *Temper*, and to his *Conſcience*. A *Better Friend*, there lives not; nor a *Better Nature*. And *this* is *He* at laſt, our *Guilty Pamphletter* beſtows his *Gall* upon. I am no ſtickler for *Prerogative*: my *Patience*, will hold out till the next *Seſſion*: but to ſee *Majeſty invaded* by a *private Hand*, ---the *People Poyſon'd*, by the ſame inſtruments that *deſtroyed* the *Prince*, ---all I can ſay is, *we are tame Fools, to ſuffer it.* But though his *paſſion* may be *Troubleſome*, *our Author* gives us ſome *Diverſion* in his *Argument*, and (Kinder ſtill) he proves beſt Company at laſt. *Kingly Government if not abſolute*, (he ſayes) *is Lame*; *if Abſolute*, --- *Deſtructive to the People.* Very good: Help the *Defect*, (if that be all) of the *One*; or at leaſt, do not impoſe upon us, in *another ſhape*, the poſſible *Miſchiefs* of the *Other*--pray whats the *Difference*, as to our Security; the *Supreme Authority* under a *Popular Form*, or the *ſame*

power

power under a *Monarchique*? You'll have your *Popular Aſſembly*, the *Judge Unqueſtionable* of all *Expediences*, and *Dangers*: why not a *Single Perſon* as well? *You* ſay, *He may abuſe that power*; and *I* ſay ſo may *They*. For inſtance, ſuppoſe they *judge* it *fit* to *change* the very *Form*, what Hinders them? or if they rather *chuſe*, *to entayl the Government upon their own Families, and to perpetuate themſelves*, what *Remedy*? If *any*, they're not *Abſolute*: if *none*, we are worſe *Here*, than *Before*. The *King cannot Betray the Peoples Truſt*; *theſe may*.

What ſignifies your telling us, that the *King abſolute*, is not *bound to the Laws he ſhall make*? [*pag.* 9.] And by and by,--that *contrary to the Monarchy, this*, (meaning Democracy) *makes not any one Law, to which every individuall perſon in the Aſſembly, is not ſubject*? (*the whole Aſſembly indeed, as it is the Soveraign power, is unqueſtionable*, you ſay.) 'Tis not the *Perſons*, but the *Power*, we are to conſider; *Conjunctim*, they're as little *ſubject* as the *ſingle Tyrant*; and poſſibly they'll ne're *diſ-joyn*, *they that can make what Lawes they pleaſe*, will doubtleſſe make this one of the number,— *that their own Members ſhall be only tryable by their Peers*: and by that device, they make themſelves both *Parties* and *Judges*.

To grant more then is needfull; — be it — that in a *State of Quiet*, and *Univerſal liberty*, ſuch a *Form* might be *admitted*, as our *Contriver thruſts* upon us; but to attempt to *force* a *Government*, *that excludes nineteen parts of twenty of the people*, from the *exerciſe* of it; and this upon a Nation *pre-engaged* by *Oath*, and (by a ſad experience) *intereſſed againſt it*. —— How *practicable*, or how *prudent*, ſuch a propoſal may appear to *others*, I cannot ſay: To me it wears the Face of a *Deſign*, promoted by a *Factious*, *guilty Party*, *to ſacrifice the Nation, to their private intereſts, and deſpayres*.

And yet ſuch is the *charity* of our *Author*, he reckons all the miſcarriages of *theſe late years in Government*, *but as foul way upon a Journey*: *and bids us not conclude againſt our Inne at Night becauſe the paſſage was dirty*. (*This is according to his wonted tenderneſs*.)

Now to *my Phanſy*, it looks rather thus. *We have been hitherto miſ-*

miſ-led; our very Guides have robb'd us, and yet they bid us follow them ſtill, they'll bring us to Paradiſe at laſt,---- Whither they'll carry us, we know not; ---we are in the Bryars at preſent;--- we know the way home again;---what have we then to do, but to return?

Our Authors little Reaſonings concerning *Trade*, are triviall; I ſhall refer him to the *Merchants* for his *Anſwer*. They are the *fitteſt Judges* in the Caſe. They have try'd *war*, and *peace*, *Monarchy*, and *Popular Government*; let them ſay which they like beſt.—*His Pen begins to run a little muddy*: and what I do not *underſtand*, I'm not oblig'd to *anſwer*. Something he talks of *Peace abroad, and of the motives to it*; which he pronounces to be *Advantage* and no Body denyes it.

This does not hinder,—becauſe the *Reaſons* of the *Peace* betwixt the *Crowns* of *France* and *Spain*, might properly reſult from a *Particular Conveniency* of *State* betwixt them, that therefore the *effects* of that *Agreement* cannot referr to *us*. They're more at *Leiſure* now: nay there's a high neceſſity incumbent upon them, to ſend *abroad* thoſe *Forces*, which otherwiſe would be both *Expenſive*, and *Dangerous* at *Home* (Not to preſſe other *arguments*, of themſelves obvious, to haſten our *Compoſure, even for that very Cauſe; that they're Agreed.*)

I preſume not to *direct*, as our Imperious *Commonwealths*-man does; but as *one Private Perſon*, *I* pretend to *Reaſon* the *Opinions* of *another*, ſubmitting ſtill my *Judgement* to any *Legal determination*, or *Rational Conviction*.

Touching the King of Spains Deſign to Propagate the Romiſh Religion [*Ibid.*] —we're the ſecurer for that very deſign, if we *unite upon the Baſis of the Engliſh Law*: The meer *Antiperiſtaſis preſerves us*: whereas, If we *compell that Perſon*, who by *Divine Aſſignment*, and *Civil right*, is our *undoubted Soveraign*; *to employ Forreign Succours to recover his Dominions*; It may be feared, (and 'tis but Reaſon) *that Spain will Article for ſome conceſſions, in favour of the Catholicks*, more then otherwiſe would, poſſibly, be granted to them: where the *Fault* lies, in caſe of this extremity, let the *People Judge*.—

Bleſſe us, —what a Fit of *Piety* has taken our *Friend*, now of *a ſuddain*! *He calls in the Miniſters, for his Compurgators, and deſires them to declare—what Government.* (Hee'l feed *their Flocks* in the mean while.) Indeed, theſe *Pulpit-Politiques* are not amiſſe. *The Prieſts ſhall tell us what Government fits their Reformation.* Pray Sir, let me help you out; —*a Gloſs upon the* Covenant, does your Buſineſs: 'tis but to tell the *people*, that in the *Holy Tongue*, KING, ſignifies COMMON-WEALTH, and the work is done.

The Gentleman, begins now to *Fumble*, and *Talke Idle*; and, in effect, *he's drawing home.* But firſt he recommends the *Nurcery* and *Education* of his *Brat-proiect, even unto any Kinde and Powerfull hand* that will promote it. From hence he paſſes into a Quaint *Reſemblance* of the ſtate of the *Nation, to a man in a feavour, and the People in Groſs, to a Reſtive Horſe with a Galled Back:* and ſo *committing the iſſue to the Lord*, the man *Departs.*

His thoughts, and *mine* do not agree; what ere the matter is. His *Conceit* is this, *The Nation's mad; and Promoted by falſe appetite, covets things Miſchievous*; (that is, *Monarchy*) the *wiſe and Charitable Phyſitian*, (that is the *Common-wealths man*,) *he forces upon it what he knows to be more proper for the Cure*, (and this is a *Free-State*) —Now *here's our difference.*

I'm of opinion, that *the Phyſitians are mad*; the *Nation ſober*, we've *try'd* their *Phyſick, for ſome dozen years together*; *and every day we're worſe then other upon it*; we finde upon *Experiment*, that they preſcribe us *Poyſon*, inſtead of *Remedies*, and that they are but *Mountebanks*; they *Live* by *Killing us.* Our *Former Diet agreed much better with our Conſtitution*, ſo that we have no way left but to fall to That again.

But to conclude; —his conceit of *a Jadiſh People with a Gall'd Back*, That's his *Maſter-Piece.* He tells us, *it will neither ſuffer a Rider, nor a Dreſſing, till it be overcome by Force, and then a Child may up, and Ride it.*

Theſe are ſomewhat broad ſigns. Now by your favour, Sir, the *Faults* not in the *Horſe*; but rather in the *Rider*, and the *Saddle.*

The

The Nation has been Ridden these dozen years together, at Switch, and Spur, in a Commonwealth Saddle; That must needs pinch the Back of a Monarchique People.—Nor is it yet so *tame*, as you *imagine*; Change *but the* SADDLE, and the RIDER, *and you shall see the Nation will do well, without a Horsleech.*

March 27. 1660.

UPon the neck of this, came out Two sharper Pamphlets; written, (as I am of late Enformed) by a Renegado Parson; but as then, I took them to be either *Nedham's*, or *Miltons*, (a Couple of *Currs* of the same *Pack*) They were *Printed* by *Livewell Chapman*, and a *Proclamation* from the *Counsell* was issued out against him for it, to which he never appeared. I was by many *Reasons* moved to Answer these; as well to lay them Open, and Confute them, as to prevent the Possible exception that might arise from a Reply by some less wary, though more skilfull pen.

The malice of these Pamphlets was Double-edged; and the Blow made at the Kings Party over the Presbyterians Shoulder: Directed to perswade the World that 'twas the *Presbyterian* did the *Mischief*; and to engage the *Presbyter* himself under an Apprehension of Revenge. The scope will better appear upon the Reading, and whether I did *Well*, or *Ill*, to write these following *Answers*.

Plain Engliſh,

TO HIS

EXCELLENCIE

The LORD GENERALL

MONK,

AND

The OFFICERS of the ARMY under his COMMAND.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

IT is written, *The prudent ſhall keep ſilence in an evil time; and 'tis like, we alſo might hold our peace, but that we fear a knife is at the very throat, not only of our and your Liberties, but of our perſons too. In this condition, we hope it will be no offence, if we cry out to you for help, you that (through Gods goodneſs) have helped us ſo often, and ſtrenuouſly maintained the ſame Cauſe with us, againſt the return of that Family which pretends to the Government of theſe Nations. It is the pulick intereſt and yours, that we hitherto fought for, and for which we now plead; therefore we inſiſt upon it with the greater confidence be-*

fore

fore you, because we are all equally concerned in the good or ill of your transactions: We cannot yet be perswaded, though our fears and jealousies are strong, and the grounds of them many, that you can so lull asleep your Consciences, or forget the publick Interest, and your own, as to be returning back with the multitude to Egypt, or that you should with them be hankering after the Leeks and Onions of our old bondage. Though it were possible you should forget, yet certainly God will not, all the injuries and oppressions done by that family to his Church and people in these and other Nations: Though the Inscription [Exit Tyrannus] *which was fixed over the place where the Statue of the late King formerly stood at the Exchange, hath been blotted out by the Rabble, yet it is written with the Pen of a Diamond in the hearts of many thousands, and will be so hereafter in the adamantine Rolls of Fame and History. No matter then, though the prophane Vulgar take a liberty to proclaim him both Saint and Martyr in the midst of their Bon-fires, and their Tipple. All the good fellows were ever at his Devotion, because he was for theirs, and commanded it to be observed upon the Sundaies. But to the end it may be better known how good a King, and how great a Saint he was, we have taken the boldness at this instant to offer you an accompt of some part of the transactions during his Reign: and because there are too many in the City who wait the good time to re-erect his Statue, we desire in the first place to present you his Picture, as it was drawn by a good hand, the Parliament, in the year 1647. at which time it was resolved upon the Question joyntly by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled. That they would make no further Addresses or Applications to the King, or receive any Message from him.*

ANSWER.

SOme two dayes since, came to my view, a Bold, Sharp Pamphlet, call'd PLAIN ENGLISH --- directed to the GENERAL, and his OFFICERS, &c. ---

It is a Piece drawn by no fool, and it deserves a serious Answer. --- By the Design; --- the Subject; --- Malice, and the Stile;

Stile; I ſhould ſuſpect it for a Blot of the ſame Pen that wrote ICONOCLASTES. It runs foul; --- tends to Tumult; --- and, not content Barely to Applaud the Murther of the King, the execrable Author of it vomits upon his Aſhes; with a Pedantique, and Envenom'd ſcorn, perſuing ſtill his ſacred Memory. Betwixt Him, and his Brother *Rabſhakeh*, *I* think a man may venture to divide the glory of it; it reliſhes the mixture of their united faculties, and wickedneſs. As yet, 'tis true; the Hand is ſomewhat doubtfull to us; but the Driſt,---- Certain, and 'tis as Clear from whence it firſt mov'd, as to what end it tends, it ſpeaks the Rancour, and the intereſt of the Rump; be the contrivance whoſe it will; and, beyond doubt, it was written by ſome Mercenary to the Faction; and That, by their direction, and appointment. 'Tis too Malicious, for a private Paſſion; and too Dangerous, for one that writes not, either for Bread, or Life. Take it in groſs; 'tis an Alarm to all the Phanatiques in England; couched under the ſpecious notion of an Appeal to the General, and his Army, aſſerting to all purpoſes, the intereſts; and Juſtifying the horrid Practiſes of the Regicide-Party.----

It Remonſtrates; —— Expoſtulates; —— Tempts; —— Threatens; —— Flatters; —— Begs; ---- Prevaricates: and by all Artifices, toward all Humours, it moulds it ſelf into an application ſuitable: --- only upon the Blood, and Family of the late King; it laſhes out into an Impious, and Inhumane fury, ſufficient to Diſgrace, the Sober (in compariſon) promoters of his Death; and to Startle their very Conſciences, that ſpilt his Blood with Pleaſure.

Nor does the Britiſh Rebel only quit the Man, in point of Tenderneſs; his rage againſt the Royall Line, diſturbs his Reaſon too. (otherwiſe ſmooth enough to delude ſuch as are not very well aware of him) Whether it be the Agony, and Horrour of a Wounded Soul, which thus tranſports him; or that, in theſe exceſſes, he only Perſonates the laſt Convulſions of a Heart-broken Faction; --- It matters not: Thus much we may collect from his diſtempers

diſtempers; That Rabble is, at this inſtant, upon a Combination, to Tumultuate the Army, and the People, and ſuch as will not ſhare the Guilt of their Conſpiracy, they labour to engage within the Reach and Danger of it. That we may better underſtand what they Deſign, wee'll ſee a little what they *Say*.

This Phamphlet ſpeaks the ſence of the whole Gang; and throughly Examined, will diſcover the frame, and the extent of of their lewd Purpoſes.

I look upon't as an Affront to Chriſtianity, and to Reaſonable Nature; ſo ſcandalous; *I* vow to God, in Favour meerly of Humanity, *I* would ſuppreſſe it, were no more Copies extant of it: but 'tis too late for that. The Countreys are already furniſhed; and the Town yet full of them; (the ſingular, and carely care of the Publick Magiſtrate to hinder it notwithſtanding) ſo that it reſts now, only to lay open the vile intereſts of this bloody Faction, and Antidote the People againſt the danger of their Peſtilent Infuſions. Let Time produce the Author; (if it be lawfull to Prophane the Light with ſuch a Monſter) The Matter only of this Licentious Paper muſt be my Subject.

IF we muſt never be quiet, til theſe People think themſelves Safe, we muſt ſtay till divine Juſtice is diſſolved; — till they believe the word, and Power of God, a Fable; — till they can Lay that Devil, Conſcience; — and Blot out of the Table of their Memories, all their Preſumptuous outrages, both againſt Heaven and Earth; — till they can Quench thoſe raging Horrours that Exagitate their Souls; — Remove thoſe hideous Fantomes, (that whereſo-'ere they fly) purſue them, with the images of thoſe that they have murther'd, Bleeding afreſh: and when they think to Turn away their Looks from the Dire object, to the other ſide, they meet with a Remembrancer, that mindes them of their Sacrilege, and Treaſon, and then they ſtart again, another way; and there they meet with a Sword drawn, to revenge their Perjuries. In fine, their Injuries are of a large extent, and ſuch, by conſequence, muſt be

their

their fears (while they perſiſt in their Impenitence.

In this diſtreſſe, rather of Thought, than Danger; of Terrour from within, rather than Violence, without; They do well, to implore the *Generals* help, to ſave their Lives, that would have taken His: eſpecially, obliging him (in *Surplus*) with this additional reſpect: That they have made him Free of the Phanatiques; —Embarqued him in the ſame *Bottom* with themſelves; — and Finally, Involved the Honour, and the *Saver* of his Countrey, in common, with the Blemiſh, and the Peſt of all mankinde.

Say, — *MILTON*; *NEDHAM*; either, or both, of you (or whoſoever elſe) — Say where this Worthy Perſon, ever mixt with you? (That is; You, — or thoſe that Employ you, and allow you wages) more, then in order to thoſe very purpoſes, to which he ſtill adheres, and from whence, you recede.

The returne of that Family, which *Pretends* [as this Tumbler phraſes it] to Govern us, nor was nor is the Queſtion. The publick intereſt, that he fought for, and you ſwore to: — was the Preſerving of our BIRTH-RIGHTS: — the good old LAWS: — his MAJESTIES LEGAL AUTHORITY: — the PRIVILEDGES of PARLIAMENT, &c. — (*Read the Old Declarations*) not to maintain a Canting Faction in the Army; — a Py-bald Miniſtry: — or, which amounts to all: — the Reſidence: — the Errata's of an Honeſt Parliament.

Again, to comply fairly with an Univerſall Vote; — That, does our Scribler call *forgetting of a publique Intereſt*; and keeping of the Covenant, or an Oath, is, with him *lulling of a Man's conſcience aſleep*. A deſire to be well again, after a Curſed fit of the Spleen (and ply'd with ſteel too) of well-nigh Twenty years continuance, — our Demy Levite, — terms it a *Hankering after our old Leeks and Onions*. For that, — Every man as he likes; you're for a Rump, it may be. — I'm for ſomewhat elſe. Believe me, I had rather Live poor, and Honeſt; than Hang Rich; and Treacherous: — then give my ſelf a turn in one of the King's old Houſes. But —

De Guſtibus, non eſt Diſputandum. I'm

I'm sorry my first Page is Printed.—I shall be thought a Fool now, for suspecting our Plain-English-man, of Wit. Something there's in his vein, like bottle Ale. Sure it is;—It Tumules, Sputters and at last it spends it self in Foam,—but Nourishment, or Comfort there's none in't.—The Fellows Jadish, Dull,—out of his Beaten and Known Rode; but when he comes to rail against the King, he's in his Element. There, he's a Thorough-pac'd, Egregious villain: and yet a Grumbler; but a false step or two may be allowed him.

This Formal Devil,—how great an honour does he to the Royall Family, in his reviling of it!—*The Injuries and Oppressions it has done to Church, and People*, trouble him sore. The *Blotting* out of—EXIT TYRANNUS, sticks in his stomach too, but, though the *Statues gone*, the *story shall stand firm*, there lyes his Consolation.

Audacious Brute, (the Blot, and the Deformity of Humane Race,) During the Warr, the Nation lay oppress't under the Common fate of an Intestine Broyl. The Quarrel was disputed both with Pens and weapons, doubtfully, as to the Vulger;—among the wiser sort, some steer'd their course by Interest, or Passion; others resign'd themselves, (abstracted from all other thoughts) to what they reckoned Piety, and reason. (Thus far the Burthe, seems divided. After this the King is made a Prisoner, and his Party sunk, now I Demand; Who has oppress'd us since; but those that Swore till then, they fought to save us? If we look back beyond the Warr, our Mischief there was, that we were better *fed* than *taught*. We were *Rich, Wanton*, and *Rebellious*.

But I begin to waver in my understaking,—I find I have a Wast to deal with, not a Man; That preys upon the Dead. A Devil!—to whose Business is to break the Bonds of Unity and Order, and to Calumniate Vertue. Nor does it serve him; this bare Murther of his Master, [as it does other beasts of Rapine, that leave the Carkasse, when they have sucked the Blood.] This wretch must descant, and Rhetoricate upon his Ashes, with an Audacious Perulancy;—Make Providence it self a Complicate; and with a

Comique sawcyness, Place or Displace;—in Heaven, or Hell as his Luxuriant Humour pleases.

BRADSHAW, these Villains rank among the Heroes; (and he deserves a Saints place in their Kalender) — a man, of whom we dare not barely hope well, so enormous was his life, and so Conform, his Obstination in that lewdness to his Dearth.

Whereas, that glorious Creature, that Dyed the object of this Monsters insolence, and Rage, that innocently suffered, what that Pageant-President as vilely acted: —that with a Primitive Patience, Piety, Constancy, and Resignation, endured the scornes, the injuries, and persecutions of his own Subjects, and at the the last, received his Death, from their very hands, in whose behalf he Dyed.

This Saint and Martyr, [BOTH; beyond Controversie, so far as we can Judge] is by our Charitable intelligencer Entroll'd in the Black List, —Charged with *Indevotion* and *Intemperance*; so was our Saviour a Wine-bibber, a haunter too of Publicans and Sinners:—to whose Inimitable example, [I speak with Reverence, to God and Truth] both in his life, and suffering, I do believe, the story of our Late Soveraign, bears the neareft proportion of all others.—But tis *amid their Bon-fires, and their Tipple* [this Miscreant tells us] *that he's Canonized*; — and that *his Majesty commanded Drinking as a Sunday exercise*. The World that knew the King, knows this to be a Lye; [but tis our Mercuries Trade;—'tis his *Diana* to amplyfie a little for the Publique good] 'tis true, there were some Liberties allow'd upon the Sabbath, which being mis-employed, were counter-manded. How does this scandall both of Providence, and Society, scape Thunder, or a Dagger

we shall now have the story of our King and Saint: (he sayes) *and to usher in the erection of his Statue, his Picture first,* ——— *drawn by the PARLIAMENT in 1647.* (as our libellous Pamphletter would perswade us) *when the Vote passed both by Lords and Commons, concerning Non-Addresses.* I should be tedious to reply upon every particular in the Declaration he talks of;

of. But as to what concerns the needfull, and the proper Vindication of his Majesty; together with those worthy Members, whom this seditious Rump-whelp labours to involve in the same desperate and exorbitant proceedings with his ungracious Masters,—In what concerns, I say, their Vindication, I shall be clear and punctuall; leaving the Judgment of the Controversy, to the Impartial Reader.

WE revive this the rather, (says he) *because the memory of Men being feail, cannot retain all particulars; which is the reason (we fear) why so many formerly engaged against him as high as any, upon conscientious accompts, both Religious and Civill, are staggering and backsliding, and have need of some quick and faithfull Monitor to mind them of things past, and make them beware of the present, lest they return with the Rout, and cry, Let us make our selves a King again of that Family; that Family which so cruelly persecuted us and our Brethren, and which still remains engaged by reason of State, and ancient Principles of Enmity and Interest, to plow up the old Furrows upon our backs, and re-deliver our persons and consciences into the hands of our old Tormenters; and our Men of might, and our Counsellours, to become sacrifices to the revenge of an implacable party. March on then, (my Lord and Gentlemen,) for believe it, there is in point of Safety no possibility of retreat, and much less in point of Conscience or Honor; For, if you respect Conscience, (as we hope you do) lay your hands upon your hearts, and tell us what hope you or we can have, that the reformed Religion and Cause will be protected and maintained by the Son, which was so irreligiously betrayed both at home and abroad by the Father. It may be you do not readily remember these things, nor how much blood was spilt by royal treachery, nor the manifold usurpations and designs by him projected and acted upon our liberty, the like never done by any Prince before: and for Blood, the Scotish Ministers employed hither Anno 1644. proclaimed and published in Print, That the Late King had spilt more blood than was shed in the ten Heathen Persecutions of the Christians: and the Ministers of London, (as we can shew you by severall*

Prints of theirs) declar'd, That satisfaction ought to be had for blood, that he was a Man of blood, and not capable of accomodation with the Parliament. We mention not this to upbraid them; for, we reverence their antient Zeal in this particular, and humbly entreat them, as well as your Excellency, and the Officers, and all the good people of these Nations, to observe the forementioned Resolves of the Lords and Commons, which were introductory to that most noble Act of Justice afterwards executed upon the King.

And that it may appear to be such; in despight of Ignorance and envy, we have been bold here to present you in Print that most remarkable Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, in pursuance of the said Resolve of both Houses, wherein they declare the Grounds and Reasons why they passed the Resolves of no further Address, *and therein you will see also, how well he deserved to lose his head, and his Family the Kingdom; whose corrupt and irreconcilable interest had been the head and fountain of those Rivers of blood and misery which had flowed so many years about these Nations.*

TO help the memories of some, that may very well forget the things they never thought of; and to reproach to others, their inconstancy, who, out of good intent at first engaged, and after That, convinc'd of their Original mistake, upon a better Light, relinquished; there needs no better Monitor, than such a Person, whose Guilt and Desperation, transport him beyond all hopes of mercy;---This Man sollicites for his Head, when under the pretext of Conscience, he labours for a Party: and yet methinks he should not need. Alas! hee's but the Rump's Sollicitor, he pleads their Cause, takes their Fee, and vanishes. Impudent Creature, to presume to be afraid; as if a Hangman would disgrace himself to meddle with him! O'h that Family *That Family*, puzzles *our Men of Might*, [as the Droll words it!] our *Counsellors* wonderfully.

Now do I phancy the Fellow, this Bout, extremely: to see the Little Agitatour fall upon his Politiques, betwixt flattery, and

saw-

sawcyness, Half-Tutor, and Half-Parasite, with one eye up, and t'other down, accost the General.---

My Lord, and Gentlemen, march on; [the word of Command; a Noble Rogue] *for believe it*, &c.--- *their's no retreat*, he tells them, either in point of safety, conscience, or honour,--- and then the Whelp takes another snap at the King: as shamelessly, as senselessly, affirming, that *the Reformed Religion*, [that is, [as I suppose he means] the Protestant] *and Cause*, [that is, the Peoples Laws and Liberties] *was irreligiously betrayed by our late Soveraign.* [Who lost his head in defence of one, and th'other] the Caution he puts in against the Son is of the same alloy, a Person, to indulgent to his People, that out of his particular Necessities, he yet relieved the English prisoners that were taken in *Flanders*; although his Enemies; and, in point of Conscience, further, so tender, that he preserves the Church of *England* in the Dominions of the King of *Spain*: and still, his Honour, with his Religion. But let us a little examine his Instances, for he pretends now to proceed to proofs.

The Scotish *Ministers* (as he tells us) *proclaimed, and published in* 1644. *That the late King had spilt more blood than was shed in the Ten Persecutions of the Christians,--- and the Ministers of London declared him a Man of blood, &c.*--- (That is, the High Priests, and Officers, cryed out, saying, Crucifie him, Crucifie him.) [That's the Original.] But to come closer to the Business, the Scotish, and the Scotch Ministers, are a clear different thing. Scotish, denotes the Antient Faction of the Nation, [No Favourers of Kings,] and *Scotch*, relates to their Nativity alone, abstracted from the Party.

First, they were *Argyles* Creatures, selected to promote *Argyles* designs: So, not the *Ministry of Scotland*, but a Pack of *Scotish Ministers.*

Next, of no more Authority to the Rump, against the King, than to the Nation, against the Rump, [in which they are as much unsatisfied.]

The

The Miniſters of *London*, did as much, he ſayes. That's ſomething truly; till we conſider what thoſe Miniſters were, and by whom, placed, and moulded, for that purpoſe.

Marſhall was the prime perſon in the Agency betwixt the two Nations;--- He, that curſed *MEROZ*; He, that was ſent Commiſſioner into *Scotland*; taught them their Leſſon there, and then returning, taught ſome of our reputative Divines to ſing the ſame Tune, Here.---This is the Man, that clos'd with *Nye*, when Presbytery went down; and carried the 4. Bills to the King, at *Carisbrock-Caſtle*, for which, they had 500*l.* apiece. I could tell you of ſome more of the Gang, that, under queſtion for confederacy with *Love*, after a due formality of ſeeking God, delivered, as upon accompt of Inſpiration, that Oliver Protectour was the perſon; and his the Government, of all that ever were, or ſhould be, the moſt agreeable to God.

This is not, to leſſen the eſteem of Holy Orders; neither to fix a raſh, irreverend Cenſure upon the Miniſtry: No Man reveres the Character of a Church-man more than my ſelf. But 'tis to ſhew the World, how much our **Pamphlet-Merchant** is ſteer'd, by Intereſt, and Paſſion, and how little, by Reaſon, and Truth.

The grinning Whelp, now, betwixt ſnarling, and fawning, would fain perſwade the General, and his Officers, and all the world beſide, that the Reſolve of Non-Addreſſes, by the Lords and Commons, was introductive to the *MURTHER* of the King. *Murther*, I ſay, that's the Plain Engliſh of what he ſtiles ---- *A MOST NOBLE ACT OF JUSTICE*; His Method lyes through dire & Contradictions to the Univerſal Rules, of Logique, Truth and Honeſty.

By this Inſinuation, he charges that Exorbitance upon the two Houſes, and drawes an inference, from the Impardonable Quality of that Action, to the Neceſſity and Reaſon of purſuing it. This, he pretends to make appear, in *ſpight of Ignorance, and Envy, from the Commons Declaration, in perſuance of the reſolve of Both Houſes, conteyning the Reaſons, why no further Addreſs*; and thence, proceeds to a Determination upon the Fathers Life, and the Son's In-

her

heritance; --- as positively fixing upon the Kings Accompt, those Plagues this Nation has endured; as if the Graceless Villain were of Counsell with the Eternal Wisedom.

I shall observe in order, and First, I'll prove that the vote of Non-Address, was not properly an Act of the two Houses; or if it were so, that it did not rationally direct to the Kings Life.

Secondly. That Declaration of the Commons, (SINGLY) declaring the Reasons of the resolve of Both Houses (Joyntly) does not amount either to a justification, or intention of taking the Kings life,—No not though I should grant the Members Free,—which *I* cannot; and the Authority Full: which I do not.—To the First.———

They were under a Force.—Upon a Debate in the Commons House, concerning the Answer to the 4. Bills, presented to him *Dec.* 24. 1647. and debated, *Jan.* 3. Commissary *Ireton* delivered himself after this manner.

The King hath denied safety, and protection to his People by denying the 4. *Bills, that subjection to him, was but in lieu of his protection to his People; this being denyed, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected, after so long patience, they should shew their* Resolution, *and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them, beyond all possibilty of retreat, and would never forsake the* Parliament, **unless the Parliament forsook them first.**

From hence naturally results the menace of the Army, in case the Parliament should forsake them; and *Ireton* understood the Souldiery too well to mistake them.———

As yet; here's nothing Capital pretended against the King.

After some more debate *CROMWELL* urged,—*that it was now expected, the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, by their Own Power and* Resolutions; *and not teach the People any longer, to expect safety and Government from an Obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened: That those men, who had defended the* Parliament, *from so many dangers, with the expence of their Blood; would defend them*

them herein with Fidelity, and Courage, against all Opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your Own, and the Kingdomes safety, in which their own is involved, to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the Rage, and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake; and therefore are likely to finde his future Government of them insupportable; and fuller of Revenge then Justice: Nota —lest Despayr Teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhearing to you,— who will not stick to your selves; how destructive such a Resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think and leave you to Judge.

This Speech, concluded the debate; and the better to Impress his meaning, he laid his hand upon his sword, at the end of it. If this be not a Force, what is? The Power and Inclination of the Army, being the only moving Arguments to obtain the Vote. The Question was then put, and Carried for **no more Addresses.**— But no pretence still that extends to Life.

I shall appeal now to the Declaration it self; to which our Regicidall Babler refers the world for satisfaction.

First, the Sectarians had stoln a Vote, *Jan.* 4. to Engarrison Whitehall, and the Mews: (the Lords not mentioned in the case) their manner of obtaining it, was this. 'Twas Noon, and the Independent party called to Rise. The Presbyterians went their wayes to Dinner: the Independents staid and did their business.

The Lords opposed the vote for Non-Addresse; (10. to 10.) but the Engagement of the Army, cast it, who sent a Declaration to the Commons of thanks for their 4. Votes against the King, engaging to defend them with their Lives, &c.——Is this a Force yet?

Soon after this, comes forth a Declaration, and Reasons, &c. Drawn by a Committee appointed, by the Independents, &c. So that even That too, was a piece, Contrived by the Designers of our Mischief, and by a Force, Extorted from the Sober rest, that would have saved us. This appears, from the interpose of the Pres-

Presbyterians, to moderate the Eagerneſs of it, upon the debate. The laſt 4. lines of the ſaid Declaration will be ſufficient to ſtop the mouth of any Reaſonable perſon, as to the point of life; (even without the Violence; which undenyably produced the reſt.) After an Enumeration of diverſe particulars objected againſt the King, The Declaration concludes thus.

Theſe are ſome few, of the many Reaſons why we cannot repoſe any more Truſt in him, and have made thoſe former Reſolutions; (meaning the 4. Votes concerning Non-Addreſſes) *yet we ſhall uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, to ſettle the preſent Government, as may beſt ſtand with the Peace, and Happineſs of this Kingdom.*

This very Declaration touches not his life; it is not ſaid, ſettle A preſent Government, but THE—; (relating properly to an Amendment, not an Abolition)

Conſidering the Grammar of it; I do not wonder much, at a Complyance; in ſome Meaſure, to an indecency, in order to prevent a greater Ill, that threatned Them, and Us: and That, was their deſign; for when it came at Laſt to the Reſult of Life, nd Death, (as then 'twas evident, it amounted to no leſſe) thoſe Gentlemen, whom the Author of Plain Engliſh would willingly engage, as Complicates,——thoſe Gentlemen, I ſay, did then oppoſe themſelves, againſt the Murtherous Faction, and voted for a Treaty, *Dec.* 4. Upon the 6. they were Impriſoned, and Affronted by the Army for their pains. —When the more moderate Party, was removed, the Reſt were left at Liberty to conſummate the Kingdoms Ruine, and their own Damnation.

Come I'll go further with the angry man;— put caſe, theſe Gentlemen had gone yet forward; and dipp'd as deep as he could wiſh they had. Frailty is an inſeparable from our nature. 'Tis Humane to Tranſgreſſe;—'Tis Chriſtian to forgive, and 'tis our Intereſt to Repent. He that *Delivers* me by Deſign, though but from that miſ-fortune which he himſelf engaged me in upon Miſtake;—he is ſo far from any Reaſon to apprehend my Revenge, he has a Title to my Kindneſs: but our incorrigible *MONITOR*, ſets up his Reſt upon a Finall, Reprobated, Impenitence. S I

I have been Tedious, out of a deſire to be Clear: but I ſhall haſten and contract as much as poſſible.

Having already proved the Declaration (of the Reaſons why no more Addreſſes) to have been an evident contrivance of the Independent Faction, in the very frame of it; and publiſh'd, while the Army ſtood to dare, and Over-awe the Sober Party, that was likely to oppoſe it; I do not hold my ſelf concerned, in any further notice of the Particulars therein Conteined; and which our Challenger produces, as an unanſwerable eviction, *that the Late King and his Family, deſerved Death, and extirpation* (as by and by, he tells you) —Yet ſomething ſhall be ſaid, even to his Queries, thence extracted, (in due place;) but I muſt firſt unvail him to the people; and that, by laying open the Dilemna he proceeds upon. ——— He reaſons Thus,

My buſineſſe (ſayes he to himſelf) muſt be to hinder an Agreement with the King. The Presbyterian party (I'm afraid) enclines to't. If he returne, we're Loſt: My own Soul tells me, we have ſin'd without Remiſſion, and yet I ſee no way to hinder it neither. The nation is United againſt us; the Presbyterian abhorrs us, as much as the Royal party does; and the Army it ſelf, begins to declare it ſelf our Enemy. Whats to be done, muſt be both Quick, and Home. Theſe *Six* wayes lye before us.

Firſt, the Army muſt be wrought into a Tumult.

Secondly, The Presbyterian muſt be (Right or Wrong, involved with us in Guilt, and conſequently in danger. They muſt be made to ſhare in the Blood of the Father, and in the Deteſtation of the Son, and be poſſeſſed, that there can be no ſafety to Them, but in a common intereſt with our ſelves. To this end, we may forge Letters from *Bruſſels*, Suborn Witneſſes to ſwear the King a Papiſt, &c.

Thirdly, The Cavalier muſt be perſwaded, that the Presbyter only deſignes, to ſet up for himſelf; and Arguments drawn from by-paſt, and miſtaken Failings upon promiſe, to beget a Jealouſie. The inconſiſtency of Epiſcopall, with Presbyterian Principles muſt be objected, &c.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, All Perſons intereſſed in Eſtates, got by the War, muſt be engaged, for fear of loſing them.

Fifthly, The General himſelf, muſt be ſolicited to take the Government upon him; Promiſes urged; no matter whether real or falſe: If this won't do, adviſe him, as a Friend, to have a care of the City; and bid the City look to him. Perplex them both; We'll confound all the World, rather then periſh.

Laſtly, We may publiſh the Declaration, of the Reaſons, for no further Addreſſes: and try, if that way, we can either make a Party among themſelves, or with the People. We may ſo bring it in, it ſhall be dangerous to reply upon, for fear of diſobliging, and as unſafe to let alone, for fear of ſeducing. Here's the *Dilemma*; It will be anſwered, or it will not; if it be 'twill ſtartle the Presbyterian; if otherwiſe, 'twill puzzle the People. [I wiſh our Common Enemy would go this open way to work.]

Here's the true State and Method of our Adverſaries Thoughts, and Actions. Now to his Quæres, wherein I ſhall be tender, how I revive Diſputes, either unkind, or unſeaſonable; and yet not wanting to my undertaking, that is, my undertaking to make Evident, that his Foundation is Sandy, and the Entire Structure compoſed of Rotten Materials. I'll take his—(what ſhall I call them?) *Suppoſitions*,—*Objections*, *Queſtions*,—(or call them what you will) one by one, and reply upon them in his own Order. Here he begins,

WOuld you ſee how and by whom the Iriſh Rebellion began, and upon whoſe ſcore thoſe unparallel'd barbarous Maſſacres of hundreds of thouſands of the Proteſtants in Ireland, do lye?

NO, we would not ſee *How*. We queſtion not, but you'd be kind enough to ſhew us; and cut our Throats here juſt as thoſe Rebels did their Fellow ſubjects there. (For an *Iriſh Rebel*, is but the Anagram of an *Engliſh Phanatique*.)

By whom now, is another Queſtion, and a Harder. Beſhrew

me, 'tis a Peeviſh point. Why ---- the Iriſh *Rebellion*, began, by the Iriſh *Rebels* : as the *Engliſh* Rebellion, did by the *Engliſh* Rebels. I hope Commotions in *Ireland* are no Miracles ; nor is it needfull to aſſign them any other reaſon, than the Humour of the People ? ----- Yet I'll be civil to you. I ſpeak my Soul, I do believe, the Iriſh Catholiques in that Rebellion which you point at, took flame at the Severity they apprehended, from ſome extraordinary Declarations againſt them here, previous to their Rebellion.

This I muſt add further, the King, (for 'tis at Him, our Author's malice ſtrikes) at his return from *Scotland*, did earneſtly, and particularly recommend the care of *Ireland* to both Houſes, in his ſpeech, Dec, 2d. 1641. upon the 14th. he preſſed them once again, to the ſame purpoſe ; Adding, the great Neceſſity of Diſpatch ; ---- the daily Cries, and Importunites of the Iriſh Proteſtants, and offering all his Power and Intereſt toward their Relief, in theſe very Terms, See the exact Collections, the 1. and 2. Speeches in the book.)

That nothing may be omitted on my part, I muſt here take notice of the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, that in caſe it come ſo to me, as it may not infringe or diminiſh my Prerogative, *I will paſs it.*

And further, ſeeing there is a Diſpute raiſed (I being little beholding to him whoſoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this antient and undoubted Prerogative, *to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the* Bill *may paſs with a* Salvo jure, *both for King and* People, *leaving ſuch Debates to a time that may better bear it, &c.*

To conclude, I *conjure you by all that is, or can be dear to you or me, that, laying away all Diſputes, you go on chearfully and ſpeedily for the reducing of* Ireland.

By whom, *Ireland* was tumulted, *I* do not know ; but that it was not by his Majeſty, is moſt evident. Nor is there any Queſtion, but the Maſſacres there committed, muſt lye upon the ſcore both

both of the Actors, and Promoters of thoſe cruelties: who they are, when *I* know, I'll tell you.

WOuld you know who it was that interpoſed betwixt the Parliament *and the Duke of* Buckingham, *and would not permit the proofs to be made againſt him concerning the death of his own Father?*

THis I ſhall ſatisfie you in.

A Letter was preſented to the houſe from Thomas Haſlerigg (*Brother to Sir* Arthur) *which was read; to this purpoſe. That there was one* Mr. Smalling, *a Committeeman of* Leiceſter-*ſhire, who had been a Deputy-examiner in the ſtar-Chamber, and affirmed, that above twenty years ſince, there being a ſute in ſtar-Chamber, between the* Earl *of* Briſtol, *Complainant, and the Duke of* Buckingham, *Defendant; Concerning* Phyſick, *preſumptuouſly adminiſtred by the ſaid Duke, to King* James; *the ſaid* Smalling *took many Depoſitions therein, and was further proceeding in the Examinations, untill a Warrant, ſigned by the King, was brought him, Commanding him to ſurceaſe, and to ſend him the Depoſitions already taken; which* Smalling *did; yet kept notes by him of the principal paſſages, doubting what further proceedings might be hereafter in a buſineſs of ſuch importance.*

Sir *Henry Mildmay* moved that *Smalling* be ſent for, and examined upon Oath by the COMMITTEE that penned the ſaid Declaration; but upon motion of the Presbyterians he was ordered to be examined at the COMMONS-BAR. *Smalling* came, produced the Warrant, but no notes, ſo this Chimera vaniſhed.

Tertio Caroli, this buſineſs had been ventilated, and examined againſt the Duke, and no mention made of *Poyſoning, or Killing King James*, It was then only called, an *Act of high Preſumption, and Dangerous Conſequence in the Duke, nor was there the leaſt Reflection upon KING CHARLES.* (See the Hiſtory of Independency par. 1. p. 74.)

WOuld you hear who it was that made ſo light of Parliaments, killing them as ſoon as born, and making them a ſcorn by diſſolution at pleaſure; and at length deſigned, and in fine drew ſword againſt the

the very Parliamentary Conſtitution, after he had by impriſonments deſtroyed ſeveral eminent Patriots for their freedom of ſpeech in the Parliament on the behalf of the Publick, and in particular, touching the death of his Father?

NO; it needs not, *I* can tell you that. 'Twas *Cromwell*, and the ſecluding Members. The RUMP, *That drew Sword againſt the very Parliamentary Conſtitution.* They clap'd up Sir *Robert Pye*, and *Major Fincher* for but deſiring a *Free-Parliament; on the behalf of the Publique*: ſending their troops abroad to ſeize, and Threatning (themſelves) to ſequeſter all the Declarers. (That which concerns his Majeſtie's Father, is ſpoken to already.)

WOuld the Scots know who it was that deſigned them to be the firſt Subjects of Slavery in ſpirituals and Civils, who hated their very Nation, though the Land of his Nativity; who made a Pacification with them, with a treacherous intent to break every Article; and manifeſted it as ſoon as he returned from Edinburg *to* London, *giving ſpecial command to burn the ſaid Articles by the hand of a Common Hangman, and it was publickly done?*

I'll tell you that too: 'Twas the old *Arglye*. --But hold you Sir. Touching the *Treacherous intent*, did he tell you his mind? But *I* confeſſe, you are quick-ſighted; you could not ſee things elſe that have no *Being*; ----- as your own Piety, and publique Tenderneſs; — You have approv'd your ſelves, *Searchers of Hearts* indeed; witneſs your Sacrifices to your MOLOCH (the good old cauſe) your Butcheries by Quartering, and Embowelling poor Wretches, only upon Frivolous, and Incongruous Circumſtances: ſenſeleſly patch'd together by your Ridiculous, and Suborned ſons of *Belial*.

Becauſe that your own Party, did reſolve, at firſt to break all Oaths; and has been only True, in a fidelity to Hell, and Wickedneſs; you make no difficulty to meaſure others by your Impious ſelves; -- you Talk, and Act at ſuch a Rate; ——— as if the Word of God were a Deluſion; Divinity an old wive's Tale;

Tale; and (ſeriouſly) not half ſo much Reſpect, is paid to the Two Tables of the Decalogue as to the Orders of your Coffe-houſe. I ſhall not ravel the Tranſaction, ſequent upon the Pacification you ſpeak of.— But to your next.

WOuld you hear the Cryes of the blood of Rochel, *and of his own people ſacrificed in that Expedition to a Forreign intereſt, and of all the Proteſtants in* France, *for his Barbarous betraying of them.*

THe *Rochel* Expedition I'm a ſtranger to; ſo *I* ſuppoſe are you, that make the Challenge. But if you had told me of *Jamaica*; or the *Sound*; *I* ſhould have underſtood you.

WOuld you caſt your eye on paſt miſeries; and recollect the manifold intollerable Oppreſſions of People both in matter of Eſtate and Conſcience, and compare them with the indulgencies at the ſame time toward Papiſts, yea and the deſigns laid to make uſe of Papiſts, to deſtroy both Parliaments and godly people together?

NOw you ſay ſomething, ſurely *The manifold intollerable oppreſſion of People in matter of Eſtate, and Conſcience, &c.* This I remember perfectly.

Your *Major-General-Archy* was an admirable Form of Government: So was your *Rump-archy*. Clap a man up, and never let him know his crime, nor his Accuſer,— declare a Man uncapable of ſerving in Parliament, for having Bayes in his Windows, or a Minced Pye in Chriſtmas, ſequeſter half the Nation, becauſe they will not ſwear back and forward; ſell Free-born Men by Thouſands into Plantations; and in fine, beſide Exciſe and other Impoſitions Arbitrary, lay on the comfortable Load of 100000*l.* a Month upon a Begger'd Nation, and at the latter end of the day. (Is this the *Oppreſſion* your wiſe Worſhip intends?)

Now for the matter of *Conſcience*, *I* can help you out there too. To ſhorten, let the Oath of Abjuration ſerve for all. You follow this with a ſharp charge for making uſe of Papiſts. I could retort this, if *I* thought it valuable; but frankly, in a War, the ſubject of the Queſtion is not Religion, but Aſſiſtance. Nor do *I* (tho' *I* might as well) condemn your Party, (that is, the Rump-men) for the ſame practiſe.

Would

WOuld you underſtand the correſpondencies maintained with, and the encouragements given to, the bloody Iriſh Rebells, for the Effecting his deſign; together with the correſpondencies and Solicitations ſettled in Forreign Countreys, to the ſame purpoſe, with all the circumſtances evincing the truth?

THis is the ſame thing again, ſhake Hands and to the next.

WOuld you be informed how often, and with how much ſolicitude the Parliament, notwithſtanding all theſe things, did for peace ſake, in a manner proſtitute themſelves, and hazzard the whole cauſe, by appointing Treaty after Treaty, which he never entertained but with intent of Treachery, and thereby fruſtrated all their good intentions and endeavours, before ever they paſſed the Votes of Non-Addreſs.

Then, we beſeech you, read the following Declaration, and be ſatisfyed to the full, whether or no the late King, and his Family deſerved death and extirpation.

I Pr'ethee do not choak us with the venerable ſound of Parliament: I talk to You, and of that Mungrel-mixture you plead for. A Parliament cannot do amiſs, (be not too quick now) they may have done Amiſs, and the next Seſsion may repeal or mend it. What they did, I don't Queſtion: but what you ſay, will (as I humbly conceive) admit a Caſtigation. Look back upon your ſelf; Theſe are your words — *Which he never enterteyn'd* (Treaty, that is,) *but with intent of Treachery* and, thereby fruſtrated their good Intentions, and endeavours, *before ever they paſſed the Votes of Non Addreſſes.*) At this rate, you ground the *Non Addreſſes*, upon the Kings Intention of Treachery. A Poſitive diſclaim of your Obedience, upon a poſſible Diſ-ingenuity in your Prince. Come, to cut ſhort. Dare you ſay, that he promiſed, and failed? That's Treachery, to betray a Truſt: By this Rule of Proceeding, had you required his Life, and he refuſed, you might have taken it: his crime was only the Non-Conceſſion of what you demanded; and he gave his Reaſons too for that refuſall. Well but let's come up to the Vote it ſelf.

I have

I have already proved, that it concerns not the ſecluded Members; and now I ſhall entreat you to Back my opinion, with a ſlip of your own Pen. Their honeſt ſtrictneſs in the Negative, afterward, and their Adheſion to it, through all extremities, ſpeaks manifeſtly the intention of the party, and that acquits them. 'Tis your own Argument in your *fourth* expoſtulation. You charge his *Treaty* with a *treacherous Intent*, which you infer from a *ſubſequent manifeſtation* of himſelf *by Action*. But to diſpatch, ſhould I Grant all you Claim, *yet did not the late King and his family, deſerve death and extripation*; The premiſes will not amount to't.

Now if you pleaſe go on.

AS for our parts, we very well recount the Series of paſt tranſactions, and do remember that in February 1647. *when the two Houſes of Parliament paſſed their Reſolves of making no further Addreſs, but determined to lay him wholly aſide, they never were in a greater ſtate of ſecurity and freedom, never paſſed any thing with greater deliberation; and never the leaſt diſturbance or alteration aroſe in either of the Houſes againſt thoſe Reſolves, untill ſome Perſons in the Commons Houſe otherwiſe affected, and who by procuring Elections of Perſons fit for their turn to ſerve in Parliament in vacant places, brought in new men of the Cavalier ſtamp (as is known) like themſelves; and thereby out-balancing the old Patriots, gained the Major Vote of the Houſe; and ſo with heat, and by deſign; obtained a revoking of thoſe reſolves which had been paſſed by both Houſes in a time of temper, upon moſt ſerious Conſideration: ſo that though we ſhall not take upon us* ex abſoluto *to juſtifie the interpoſure of the Souldiery afterwards, and their Excluſion of the Adverſe Members, (it being a tranſcendent Act, not to be meaſured by ordinary Rule, and which nothing can juſtifie but Supreme neceſſity) yet This we can truly ſay in their defence: In Judgment and Conſcience there was ſo indiſpenſable a neceſſity, that had they not interpoſed, thoſe Principles and the Concernments of the Common-wealth, upon which the aforeſaid Reſolves of both Houſes were founded, had been utterly ſhipwrackt, and the whole Cauſe and its Defenders moſt inevitably have ſunk together, ſeeing the*

ſame heady confidence in treaty was then given to the Father, which too many now encline to allow unto the Son, who were firſt engaged againſt them in the War, and held out to the time of the laſt treaty: whom (of all other Men) his party do hate upon that accompt; and, if they had an opportunity, would be ſure to make them fall the ſevereſt Sacrifices to the Revenge and Memory of his Father.

THis is already Sifted, and a little Picking will ſerve the Turn here. A Cavalier, I find, is onely an Honeſt man that croſſes a Fantan; but the *Old Patriots* it ſeems, were the *Minor part* of the *Houſe*; and That's enough to entitle the Nation to the Benefit of the Treaty reſolved upon. For Sir (if you'l give us leave) we'l be governed by the *Major* part. It's true, your *Supreme neceſſity*, is a pretty popular Sophiſm. But,

As neceſſity ha's no Law, ſo is it none; nor in any caſe pleadable againſt Law, but by the Judges of the Law, which at all hands, is confeſſed to be the Parliament, and the Major part of the Two Houſes in conjunction with the King have ever denominated That.

I muſt needs take a little pains to correct the Gentleman, in his next Fleere upon the Presbyterians. He hangs like a Cock-ſparrow upon *the aforeſaid Reſolves of both Houſes* (which is but an old Trick of laying a Knaves Baſtard at an Honeſt mans door) and then he preaches moſt *Infallible Deſtruction* to the *firſt engagers, whom* the *King will be ſure to ſacrifice to the Revenge and memory of his Father.*

This opinion or rather ſuggeſtion of his, oppoſes all Principles of Honeſty, Generoſity, and prudence, which fall within the latitude of the caſe. Nay, Taking for granted, the very entrance upon the War Juſtifiable.

There might be then a Queſtion, Now there's none, They intended only a Reformation, here's a Diſſolution. A Liberty was there Deſigned, here's an Intollerable Slavery Impoſed, Thoſe quitted, when they ſaw their error; Theſe, for that very Reaſon, proceed. There is, in fine, This difference; One

ſide

ſide would Deſtroy the King, the Other would Preſerve him; Theſe, would Govern Without Law, and the Other would be governed by Law. After all this peremptory rudeneſs at large; he bethinks himſelf at laſt of an Apology to the General; and now the Pageant moves.

WE urge not theſe things, with an intent to make the leaſt reflection upon your Excellencie, and our Brethern the Officers under your Command, as if we ſuſpected your ſincerity and conſtancy, after ſo many plain and poſitive Declarations againſt returning to our old Bondage under that Family which God ſo wonderfully caſt out before us, and wherein we are confident he, for his own name and peoples ſake, will never more take pleaſure: but in regard the Old Adverſaries behave themſelves inſolently and proudly, and publickly give out, the time is coming wherein they ſhall ſatisfy their luſts upon us, we thought it convenient to whet your Spirits with a repetition of theſe things, as we have done our own, that the world may ſee we yet own our Cauſe; and do believe, that what we have done as Inſtruments in driving out that Family, we have done in judgment and Conſcience; and that you take a convenient time to let men underſtand plainly that you alſo will continue of the ſame perſwaſion with us, for as much as there are none of the particulars charged upon the late King in the following Declaration, which would not, with many more, have been proved to his face by a Cloud of witneſſes, if he would have put himſelf upon tryal, when he was called to anſwer for his actions.

ALas, good Gentleman; you *ſuſpect* the *General*? No body can have ſuch a Thought ſure: you do but mind him of his Duty now and then, *Refreſh his Memory*, and *whet his Spirits*. He has *declared himſelf againſt returning to our old* BONDAGE, *under that Family which God ſo wonderfully caſt out before you*; but not againſt the *Liberty*, and *Title* of that Perſon whom God may, no leſſe wonderfully, bring in before you: and I ſuppoſe my confidence is better grounded, that the people will never more take pleaſure in you; then yours is, *that God will take no pleaſure in Him*; the Nation will as little

endure the Rump, as you the King. But all this while, you Beg the Queſtion, How comes the King to be mentioned? The *Young man* (as your gravity deſcends to call him) he's poor, & his Friends, Beggerly; You have the *Ballance of Propriety* on your ſide too my Maſters; you're ſafe enough then. I would adviſe you now to wait, and not prejudge Authority. You're to Obey, not to impoſe a Government. If you proceed to Murmure, and ſhew your Teeth, when you cannot Bite, 'twill be the worſe for you. Indeed, your *Good old Patriots* will be the *Minor Vote* again of the next Parliament, if you behave not your ſelves more modeſtly, the people will ſuſpect you; for Mutinous Servants prove but Untoward Maſters. *Monopolies*, and ſome miſgovernments were the True Cauſe, that engaged the well meaning people, in the quarrel, not extirpation of both Laws and Governours. But if your *Adverſaries*, do (as you ſay) grow *proud* and *inſolent*; in ſuch a caſe, you may be allowed to *whet your Spirits* (as you expreſs your ſelves, any thing but your knives; you were at that ſport once) your judgment and your conſcience we are ſatisfyed in; alas, the difference betwixt yours and ours, is but a Trifle. What we take to be ſlavery, you call Freedom.——— A Rebell in our Judgment, is a Patriot in yours.——— Murther, a *Sacrifice*; Rebbing of Churches, in your ſoft Opinion, is but unclothing of the Whore; (a thing the Rump's a little given to) we term that *Sacrileдge*. One frailty I muſt needs take notice of among you, for all you talk of Providence, I finde, the Arme of Fleſh ſtrikes a great ſtroke in your ſpiritual coflicts; and when y'are worſted; you'l take eggs for your money; and acquieſce, as well as your neighbours. This I obſerve to be one Article of your Faith, you argue from Divine Omnipotency, that providence is ever on the ſtronger ſide. Suppoſe the Gentlemen of the Back-ſide, ſhould look on for a fit now; the *Royall Family* (you ſay) *God caſt out before us*: Who caſts out theſe? But to make all ſure, you preſſe the *General*, and his *Officers* to *Declare, that they'l continue of the ſame perſwaſion with you.* (This *perſeveranee*, I confeſs, is a *main point* you) ſhould do well

to

to leave a note, where they may find you; for you're a little variable, and they're a little shy of medling with those that are given to change. You're possibly, this day, resolved for a Republick; the next, for a Protector; by and by, a Counsell of Officers, and then, a Committee of Safety. Come, come, Gentlemen, the General will be just, without your Counsels; and steady, in despight of all your Arguments. Speak on.

Give us leave (we beseech you) to add one thing more, which we had almost forgotten, to shew the madness of those men that cancelled the votes of Non-Address, and would have brought back the late King by the Isle of Wight-Treaty, and would now (if they might have their wills) bring in his Son by the like, viz. that at the very time when that Treaty was on foot, though this young man, who was then at Sea in the revolted Ships, declared all to be null which should be agreed on by his Father; yet, hand over head, in they would have had him, as others would now restore the Son upon the very same termes which he so positively declared himself an enemy to in his Fathers dayes. Good God! what a spirit of slumber hath seized such men, who were once deeply engaged with us in the Common Cause.

As for your Excellencie, far be it from us to entertain any suspition concerning you, supposing you must needs have upon your heart the true interest of Religion, *and your Own too; and how much it is concerned in keeping Out of that Family, whose restitution we believe God will not now permit unto any designers, seeing he hath from time to time so signally blasted all former undertakings. As to what concerns* Religion, *you know what hath been their* Education *and Dependency abroad, & should they returne, 'tis Obvious, all Other parties would be put upon their Guard to defend themselves against him and his* Clergy *at home; and so all sorts of* Religious Parties, *being constrained to combine for mutuall preservation and liberty, the War will soon be renewed upon the point where it at first began.*

What

WHat pitty 'twould have been, this Gentleman ſhould have forgot a thing that never was, the *King* (indeed) ſent an expreſs to the City, the coppy whereof was carried to the Houſe, by the Sheriffs, and ſome of the Common-Counſell: 3. Aug. 1647. But not a ſyllable of what he mentions in it; nor any thing that way tending, yet was it eagerly debated, *in Terminis, that the Prince ſhould be declared a Rebell and a Traytor.* Among Other Reaſons, why it was laid by, One was, — the *Covenant*; a Second, was *This, It would not do well; to vote the Prince a Traytour, the ſame day, that Meſſengers were ſent to invite The King his Father to a Treaty.* The clamorous puppy might bethink himſelf of better Language; eſpecially Addreſſing to an Eminent Perſon. *The madneſs of thoſe men* (he calls it) *that cancell'd the votes of non-Addreſſes*, and would have ſav'd the King,&c— If all were mad that would have ſav'd *That* King,or that love *This*,we ſhould, not find many ſober Perſons, in the Kingdom.

This Fellow keeps ſo much ſtir to cleer his Party of any jealouſie, upon his Excellency, that he moſt evidently creates, and diſcovers one. How comes Religon now, To trouble our Atheiſtique Saints! Theſe Reprobates have violently taken the Father's Life, and thrown the *Son* out of his *Right* and *Dominions*; expoſing him to the *charity of Forreign Princes* for a *ſubſiſtence*: and after this; his *Education abroad*, is made an Argument by this Brute, againſt his *Return*, where will he be next now?

AS to your own intereſt in the ſtation where God hath placed you, 'tis well known what the private ſence and opinion of that Party is concerning your Excellency, becauſe you have been an Inſtrument, in keeping Scotland *many years with ſo great a vigilance and prudence free from the attempts of that irreconcileable Enemy. Admit ſuch a thing were poſſible, which ſome fancy, that you ſhould be the man that would put the Crown again upon the head of that Family; is it not plain what fate (ſetting aſide all other Conſiderations) you might expect from a ſeeming reconciled Enemy,*

and

and a King too? It being the guiſe of Kings (as the Hiſtorians from enumerable Examples do Obſerve) ever to recompence with hate their moſt meritorious Servants; making no difference to returne, betwixt the higheſt Obligation, and the greateſt Injury. The examples are ſo frequent in our own Chronicles, as well as forreign, that he who runs may read it; and 'tis not proper here to recite them.

INdeed he's hard put to't, to make the danger out from the *King*, to the *Generall*, in caſe he ſhould *reſtore* him. If there were nothing elſe in't, 'twere enough, to make him Dear to the King, and to his party, that he *Hates you*. Do not deceive your ſelves: He'll be a ſcourge to the Phanatiques, and every ſoul that loves either Piety, or Peace will aſſiſt him. Do not miſtake me neither. God forbid that all ſuch as have either been *miſled* by *cunning practiſes*; or elſe *tranſported by neceſſities*, to ſeek a livelyhood by unlawfull means. God forbid (I ſay) that all without diſtinction, ſhould be marked with that Infamous Brand: No I intend it only of that Frantique crew, that preclude mercy, by deſpiſing it: and perſecute the Truth with a Determinate Malevolence and ſpite: But Note, the man begins to ſoften.

ALas, (Sirs) *'tis not an Army that ſhall ſecure you, nor the power of the Militia that can ſecure our Antient Senators, (if any who have been engaged can be ſo fond as to think of ſecurity) for, let the* Young man *come in with freedom to encounter both Army and Militia with the bare title of King, and actuall poſſeſſion of the Throne, the eyes of Army and Militia will ſoon be dazeled with the ſplendour of that* Gay Thing, *and fall down and worſhip at the ſight and hope of the Kingdomes of this world, and the glory of them; and then all Bonds of agreement (if any be) will prove but Ruſhes.*

Oh, for God and his peoples ſake, yea, and for the City of Londons *ſake, whom* Charles *the Father branded in his papers with the Character of* Diſloyal *and* Rebellious City, *(though at that time moſt renowned*

in

in her actings, ſet an end to the expectations of malicious enemies, and ſtaggering Friends, by clearing up your ſelves, that we may ſee you in the light, vigorouſly aſſerting the good Cauſe of theſe Nations: yea, for the ſake of Parliaments we ask it: and we doubt it not at your hand, ſeeing the people are not like to be brought to contend any more for Parliaments, if after ſo long a conteſt he ſhould gain an Opportunity of improving a poſſeſſion of the Crown to an uſurpation over the Priviledges of Parliaments.

THis *Thing*, I'll lay my life, belongs to the *Rump*; it is ſo much concerned in the behalf *of our Antient Senators*. Truly I'm half of his minde, in what he ſayes laſt. That is, I do believe, his Majeſty would be made welcome; But for *Faithleſſe*; nothing but an Abjuring Perjur'd Villain would ſuſpect him.

See how the Supple ſlave, is come about now: how Arrantly the Rogue *Beggs: Oh! for God and his Peoples ſake, and for the City of London's ſake.* (I am in earneſt; *I* muſt laugh before *I* can write on.) Might not this fellow be laid hold of, upon the ſtatute againſt ſturdy Beggars, and Laſh'd? He has abſolutely turn'd a piece of one of the Rump-Ballads into Proſe.

Nay my Lord; (cries the Brewers Clerk) good my Lord for the love of God;
Conſider your ſelf, Us; this poor Nation, and that Tyrant Abroad;
Don't leave us: but George *gives him a Shurg, inſtead of a Nod.*

Come, hang your ſelf, Beg right; here's your true method of begging. — Oh for *Tom Scot*'s ſake; for *Haſlerig*'s; for *Robinſon*, *Holland*, *Mildmay*, *Mounſon*, *Corbet*, *Atkins*, *Vane*, *Liveſey*, *Skippon*, *Milton*, *Tichbourn*, *Ireton*, *Gourden*, *Lechmore*, *Blagrave*, *Barebones*, *Nedham*'s ſake: and to conclude, for all the reſt of our Impenitent Brethrens ſakes, Help a company of poor Rebellious Devils, that only for murthering their Prince, deſtroying three glorious Nations, breaking the bonds of Faith both with God and Men, trampling upon Religion and Laws; exerciſing an abſolute Tyranny over their fellow-Subjects — Endeavouring yet once more to engage their native Countrey in Bloud; — to alienate the honeſt Soldiery from their Obedience; and *in fine*, for playing the Devil in Gods Name; are now in danger to Loſe the Reward of all their Vertues; — The *Poſſeſſions* which they have acquired by violence, by a Malignant and deſperate deſign of Peace and Settlement.

This is the State of your Condition, and this ſhould be the form of your Application.

Once more, and he bids you farewel.

BUt (my Lord and Gentlemen) leaving theſe things which touch only upon your worldly Intereſts and Concernments, we are bold to ſay, (though the jealouſies of weaker Brethren be great and many) we believe our ſelves to be ſure of you, becauſe we have your Souls, as well as your perſonal Intereſts at pawn for your fidelity to the Publick. We remember your Declaration ſent from Scotland to the Churches; and other Declarations at the ſame time. We might minde you, if it were needfull, how you have called God to witneſs, That the ground of your late undertaking in Scotland was, The Vindication of the Liberties of the People, with the protection and en-

 couragement

couragement of the Godly and the Faithfull therein, &c. and that you have no intention or purposes to return to our old Bondage; but that the providence of God having made us free at the cost of so much bloud, you will never be found so unfaithfull to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but to resolve, with God's assistance, to endeavour a maintaining of our dear-purchased Liberties both Spiritual and Civil. But seeing these Declarations made before God, Angels and Men, (as your selves have said) do so much concern your Souls in the observation of them, that they cannot but be much upon your hearts; therefore we mention them not, as doubting you, or endeavouring to perswade you, but to ease our own mindes, and to comfort the hearts of our Brethren, who have need to be comforted; and do wait for a good time when your Excellency shall break forth, and more visibly appear (through all the Clouds of Fear and Jealousie) a Defence and Protection (through the goodness of God) to all his people that fear him in these Nations; and so their hearts universally will return unto you: in assurance whereof, and that you will be very much confirmed and encouraged after the reading of the Declaration, We remain,

(My LORD)

Your Excellencies most faithfull

March 22. Friends and Servants in the

1659. Common Cause.

STill I perceive you're sure; and yet *for your weak Brethrens sake*, you minde His Excellency of a *Pawn he has engag'd for his Fidelity to the Publick* (only his *Soul*) *in a Declaration before God, Angels, and Men, that he hath no intent to return to his old Bondage.*

Why you Impudent Sots, does a Confederacy with a Pedling, Little, Sniv'ling Faction, that would subvert Order

Order and Government, amount to a *Fidelity to the Publick?* or does the *avoiding* the *Old Bondage* you keep ſuch a Coil with, Imply the ſetting up a New and more Tyrannical Impoſition.

In fine; the mention of the King, proceeds from your own Guilt, and Fears, that have ſo much abuſed him. The General meddles not at all to impoſe upon us; but only ſtands betwixt Authority, and Violence. His Excellency refers all to the Appointment of ſuch Perſons as the People ſhall chuſe, to Act in their behalf, and cannot in Honour ſide with a Party of Juglers, that only call themſelves our *Repreſentatives*, and we diſclaim.

This is enough ſaid to convince you and the World, where the Abuſe lies.

Now, having *eaſed your mindes* (in your own Language) you may go eaſe your bodies too; for I diſmiſſe you: and all's but giving of the *Rump* a Purge.

Curſed is he that removeth his Neighbours Land-mark.

April 2. 1660.

UPon this pinch of Time the *Good Old Cauſe* was hard put to't; as appears by their more than ordinary earneſtneſſe toward all Parties: but chiefly, they ſolicited the Army, in an Audacious Pamphlet, Entituled, *An ALARUM to the ARMIES of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND*; the ſubſtance whereof may be collected from this enſuing Anſwer to it.

THis laſt Week, has brought to light, two Pamphlets, ſo exquiſitely impious, as if they had been fram'd in Hell, by *OLIVER* and *BRADSHAW*. They ſpeak the Language of the Damned, Horrour, Deſpairs, and Deſolation.

ſolation. Theſe goodly pieces are Chriſten'd, PLAIN ENGLISH, — and AN ALARUM. I ſuppoſe they are Twins, the Iſſue of the ſame Brain, as they are related to the ſame main End. I had nigh finiſh'd a Reply upon the former, when the latter came to my hand: comparing which with the other, I finde they correſpond ſo aptly, and ſo univerſally, to the ſame ſeditious Purpoſe, that there's not any Intereſt 'ſcapes their Malice and Attempt. They advance their Diſpute, and March, together; that what they cannot gain by force of Argument, they may be ready to Eſſay by dint of Sword. PLAIN ENGLISH is a reaſoning of the caſe: firſt with the General, claiming, from his Engaging for the Publick Liberty, a title to his aid, in favor of a private and enſlaving Faction. It labours then, to puzzle the Preſbyterian into a jealouſie of the Kings faith and honour, and conſequently into a doubt of his own ſafety, ſhould His Majeſty be reſtored: Nay, not content to blaſpheme the Kings Integrity by a bold cenſure of his ſecret thoughts; the ſhameleſs Beaſt (the Author of it) proceeds to charge the ſecluded Members with the guilt of the Kings bloud, upon a ſenceleſs inference drawn from *the Declaration of both Houſes* in 1647, touching the *Reaſons* of the *Votes for non-Addreſs*. His aim is here, to perſwade them to accuſe themſelves.

How thoſe Votes were obtained, I have ſhewed at large, (in anſwer to PLAIN ENGLISH) and it ſuffices: the whole Nation knows, that though the Plague was in both Houſes then, yet All were not infected; the Rumpers only had the Tokens, (nor all theſe neither:) ſo that at laſt, the ſecluſion of ſo many as oppoſed the Capital proſecution of the King, amounts to a clear Act of diſcrimination; a *ſeparation* of the *clean* from the *unclean*.

Having

Having there ſet the Preſbyterians at work, upon the Queſtion of Intereſt, and ſafety; and (after many a lame complement to his Excellency) he cuts out worſe employment for the Phanatick Souldiery: and at the ſame time, breathing Hot and Cold —— Reaſon and Mutiny, he ſolicites the General into a Complyance, and the Army into a Tumult.

To diſabuſe the multitude, (if any ſhould be mad enough to be deluded by ſo groſs a cheat) I'll lay the juggle open, in as few and familiar words as poſſible.

The Title ſpeaks the *buſineſs* of the Pamphlet: ('Tis AN ALARUM;) and the Application —— (*To the* OFFICERS *and* SOLDIERY, *&c.*) the *malice*; there's Treaſon in the very Face on't. If the firſt two words coſt not the Nation a hundred thouſand lives, 'tis not the Authors fault.

His ſecond page places the Legiſlative power in the Army, challenging their promiſe; *That before they would SUFFER themſelves to be disbanded, or divided, they would ſee the Government of theſe Nations eſtabliſht upon the juſt and ſecure fundamentals, and conſtitutions of Freedome and Safety to the People, in relation as Men, and Chriſtians, and that in the way of a Common-wealth, or Free-ſtate-Government, without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords.*

Theſe Gentlemen, I ſee, reſolve to be their own Carvers; *not SUFFER themſelves to be disbanded?* This RUMP would be a *perpetuall ARMY*, as well as a *perpetual PARLIAMENT*. Let the Nation obſerve now the Quality of this ſuggeſtion.

Firſt, By the *Law of Arms*, 'tis *Death*, that which theſe Fellows would engage the Army in; that *mutiny* againſt their General: (for they give him for loſt.)

Next,

Next, 'Tis *TREASON*, *by the Law of the Land*; the *USURPATION*.

Thirdly, 'Tis *MURTHER*, Murther intentional, in the bare conception of it; and actual, ſure enough, ſo ſoon as that intention is but known. Now let us weigh the Benefits it brings, againſt the Crimes and dangers that attend it. *FREEDOME* and *SAFETY* to the People, both as *MEN* and *CHRISTIANS*; there's the Propoſition.

FREEDOME, there can be none to the People, where a Particular and Little party pretends to impoſe upon a number forty times greater, and enſlave them.

Nor *SAFETY*, where in that Diſproportion the Nation is engaged againſt a Faction: and every Sword that's rais'd againſt it, carries damnation upon the point on't.

Neither do they act as Men. Man is a Reaſonable and Sociable Creature. Here's a Deſign that breaks the Bond of Order: and betrayes a manifeſt Folly, by a contrivance ſo impracticable and miſchievous at once; Idly to labour the ſaving of a few guilty perſons, at the price of an univerſal Deſolation.

For *Chriſtianity*; either my *Bible*'s falſe, or their *Opinion*, that ſhall pretend to raiſe a *Chriſtian Government* upon a *Baſis* of *Rebellion* and *Bloudſhed*.

From hence the terible Trifle proceeds to the diſtribution of his Deſign into three Heads.

Firſt, what the *CAVALIER ſaies*. Secondly, what the *PRESBYTERIAN thinkes*. Thirdly, *what the Armies beſt Friends* (*ſcornfully called COMMON-WEALTH-MEN and PHANATICKS*) *do foreſee*, *concerning the preſent tranſactions in the three Nations*. And laſtly, *his own Obſervations, and ſeaſonable Advice*.

He

He tels us, *The CAVALIER's OPINION, that the Generals intention is to bring in the King:* and grounded upon these Reasons.

First, that upon the 11th. *of February laſt, he ſent an impoſing Letter to the Parliament, (in ſcorn called the* RUMP) *and thereupon, without any Order from them, marched with* their *Army into* LONDON, *then eſteemed and made by* Him (*in deſtroying their Gates, &c.*) *their implacable enemies; and at night ſuffered ſo many Bonfires, and ringing of Bels, and publickly drinking healths to the* KING, *and a* FREE-PARLIAMENT; *Roaſting and burning of Rumps; hearing and ſeeing his* MASTERS *in open Street declared* MURTHERERS *and* TRAYTORS, *&c. --- Feaſted and aſſociated with the Kings Friends, &c.*

This is a grievous charge, aſſuredly; and by the licenſe of our *Obſervator*, This I Reply.

The General's Commiſſion expired upon the Tenth of *February*, ſo he was free the Eleventh. Again, it was the deſign of the *Rump* to make the General odious, and therefore they impoſed on him ſuch barbarous Orders, as probably might leave him to retreat. While he profeſſed to Act by any Derivation from Them: malice it ſelf cannot but ſay His Excellency ſtood firm to every point of Military obedience: at laſt, when they proceeded ſo ſeverely againſt the City, he interpoſed; but his Mediation was rejected, and more imperious commands ſent to him: this is enough to prove, 'twas not the General that made *London* the *Rumps* implacable Enemies; but 'twas the ſordid Inſolences of the Members that made the Conventicle hateful to the whole Kingdome; and this appeared by the Univerſal Joy that followed upon their diſappointment. If the *Rump* at *Weſtminſter* did by a Sympathy fellow-feel the ſuffe-

ring

ring Rumps in the City, the Caſe indeed was hard; but for the reſt, the Murtherers and Rebels they were call'd, --- methinks it ſhould not trouble folks to be call'd by their Names; (that's only Liberty of Conſcience; and I dare ſay, the people ſpake as they thought) Are theſe Gentlemens *Ears* ſo *tender*, and their *Hearts* ſo *hard?* Is the Sound of Treaſon and Murther ſo dreadful, and the Exerciſe of it ſo Trivial?--- I muſt confeſſe, to ſtay away Ten dayes together, (from the 11th. of *Feb.* til the 21th. as that his *Maſters* charge him with) was ſomething a long *Errand*. But ſeriouſly Gentlemen, conſidering 'twas his firſt fault, forgive him.

The ſecond motive to the Cavaliers Diſcourſe (that his Excellency will reſtore the King;) is, that notwithſtanding his engagement by Letter, and Verbal promiſe to His MASTERS (that had ventured their All, to ſecure him from being ruin'd by Lamberts *Army, he yet admits the Secluded Members to ſit, (moſt of whom he abſolutely knew to be for the Reſtauration of* CHARLES STUART,) *&c.*

To this; it is notorious, that Deſignes were laid to murther the General; That the *Rump* Received, and Kept in Members impeached: That they promoted, and gave Thanks for *BAREBONES Petition*, containing matters of direct contradiction to their Profeſſions. In the next place; inſtead of the Rumpers ſaving the General from being ruin'd by *Lambert*, the General ſaved them; and touching their Opinions concerning (*CHARLES STUART*, as this Villain prates) the King. The Noble General regarded their Truſt, not their Opinions, nor did he enquire what they were.

Thirdly, (ſay they) *the General will bring the King in; for he hath* ſuffered *the ſecluded Members to releaſe*

Sir

Sir GEORGE BOOTH, *and his Party, &c.--- Again, they have* (de novo) *voted the* COVENANT *to be Printed, Read, and ſet up, &c. --- acknowledging the late King's Poſterity: --- as likewiſe ſuffering to be maintained in the Houſe, that none but Jeſuites and Prieſts are for Free-State Government.--- Obſerve yet further,* (*ſayes the* CAVALIER) *that he impriſons Commonwealth-men, and releaſes Royaliſts, &c.*

Theſe Rumpers have gotten ſuch a trick of breaking Parliaments, that 'tis their publick Profeſſion now become to enforce them to the bent of the ARMY. SUFFER, ſtill is the word. The General SUFFERED the ſecluded Members to Releaſe Sir *GEORGE BOOTH.*— The next point is yet more remarkable: Theſe very COVENANTERS ABJURE the COVENANT.---- As for the SUFFERING (there 'tis again) *to be maintained, that only Jeſuites, &c.* —— the General is not properly to take cogniſance of what paſſes in the Houſe; (the King was chidden for't, ſee *Exact Collections*, the Petition of both Houſes *Decemb.* 14. 1641.) --- now for impriſoning and releaſing. If it ſo happen that ſome Commonwealth-men deſerve to be laid up, and ſome Royaliſts to be enlarged (not as ſuch) it is but juſtice to do the one, and the other; for at the rate of this ſubtile Argument, Free-ſtate-men ſhall be Protected againſt the Law, and Royaliſts ſo Perſecuted likewiſe.

Laſtly, the Cavaliers conclude as much from the Generals countenancing the Militia; being raiſed and formed to murther, and deſtroy the Army --- and that the ſame thing was done long ſince in Scotland: *--- beſides, the Iriſh Army have proceeded anſwerable to himſelf. --- And divers Officers that ſerved the late King have had fair promiſes from him, --- and ſeveral of the Kings friends*

are peaceably returned from exile, &c. --- and again, there's a Proviſo *in the* ACT *of* DISSOLUTION, *concerning the* LORDS *being a part of the* PARLIAMENT, *&c.*

To be ſhort, --- *the General encourages the Militia* to *Save the Countreys*, not to *Ruine the Army*, --- next, if *long ſince done in Scotland*, the *better* done, the *ſooner*; for *England* hath been only Rump-ridden, for want of it. To this, the *conform motion* of *Ireland* proceeds from their Commune Concerne with *England* in delivering themſelves from the Tyranny of the *Rump*; for the *Generals promiſes*; I am glad to hear it, but truly I know nothing of it. In truth, 'tis a ſad buſineſs, *Alderman Bunce his return*: and the *Proviſo in the Act of diſſolution, (for certainly, by the known Law, the Lords are no part of the Parliament.)* To ſpeak my thoughts freely; I am very glad to hear that the Cavaliers are of Opinion that the King will come in, but I believe it never the more for your ſaying it.

Now to the SOBER PRESBYTERIANS: *they* (ſayes our Phanatick) *begin to ſuſpect the General: for the Cavaliers are at this inſtant arming themſelves in all the three Nations, and if* CHARLES STUART *comes, he'll bring with him Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, &c. --- and then in comes his Mother --- with her Jeſuites, Prieſts, &c. --- and this will make little difference betwixt us and the Sectaries.*

Now do I dote upon the ſincerity of this Bubble; had he pretended to Religion himſelf, h'ad been ridiculous; but putting that ſcruple upon the Sober Preſbyterian, 'tis well enough. The ſtory of the *Cavaliers Arming themſelves*, is a Phanatick, not a Preſbyterian conceipt. As to the Queens bringing in Jeſuites, &c. It needs not, the Independents have enow for her Majeſty and them-

themſelves too. (How the changeable Butterſly flutters from Party to Party, and whereever he ſeizes, he ſtains.) As to his concluding Opinion, that the King will put no difference, he may live yet to change that opinion.

He comes next to the *Armies* BEST FRIENDS, (as he terms them) and they preach nothing but Fire and Sword, if ever the King come. Oh this peſtilent *MILITIA!* Alas poor Wretch! Away with your Improbable Lies: The Secluded Members threaten the Army, Yes, 'tis a likely matter. Come Gentlemen, you are ſafe, if you continue honeſt, and loſt without it. Do not you know, that theſe very perſons that now Flatter you, are the people that have taken your meat out of your mouths; that have received ſufficient for ſix Armies from the Nation, and yet have left you monileſſe, and ready to periſh for want of Bread? Nay, ſuppoſe their Arguments were more rational than they are, and that the King were a Perſon as famous for Cruelty, as he is for Clemency, you were ſtill ſafe. You are below the ſtroke of Revenge. They are fearfull for their own Heads, and pretend to concern themſelves for you. They talk of Treachery, in caſe you ſhould recede from their Deſigns: They tell you of Engagements, Promiſes, *&c.*--- and ſo do I. Remember but your Oathes and Covenants; and if you do, you will not mix with them; they promiſe you the glory of after-Ages: yes, you ſhall be Renown'd, if you engage with theſe Deſperadoes.

Look back into old Stories; enquire into the different reputation of the Brave Mayor that kill'd the Rebel-Patriot, and of the Libertine himſelf that fell; (a MARTYR your hot headed Councellor would call him) Are you ambitious to be Chronicled with JACK OF

LEYDEN, KNIPPERDOLLING, CADE, TYLER, RAVILLAC, BALTAZAR GERARD. &c. Deſire your brainſick Illuminates to tel you *Muncer*'s Story, go to, beware of ſeparating. Remember them that cried, *You take too much upon you ye Sons of Levi, the Congregation is holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them.* To come a little nearer home. Reflect upon the deceas'd Patrons of their Frantick Zeal; their very fleſh is not more putrid than their memories. Come nearer yet, and look impartially among your living Partizans, (I ſpeak of ſuch as our Pamphleter ſtiles *Patriots*) do not you finde them cloth'd with the Spoils of Widdows, and of Orphans? Nay, look into their Morals, even toward thoſe, that with the loſs of Bloud and Peace, have rais'd them: how Thankleſſe and how Avaricious are they? Examine now their Principles of Courage, and their Military Vertues: do they not ſneak into Committees, and there diſpoſe of all the Advantages of your Unchriſtian Hazzards? *YOU kill the* HEIR, but *THEY divide the* INHERITANCE.

Having abundantly perplex'd the mindes of his weak Brethren, he's as intent, now, how to entangle the *Intereſts* of the Nation. The man is willing to do any thing that may help on the work of undoing All; and here he's ballancing Accompts: ——— caſting up how many millions will pay the Court-debts, and repair the Loſſes of His Majeſties Friends. For that I think the next Parliament may as well compoſe the Difference, as either he or I: this only I may ſay, 'tis not the care of the Publick which imploys him ſo much. *His ſins are greater than he can bear.*

All this is nothing, compar'd with what he has yet to tel you. Obſerve him well, and ask him, how he looks when he lies? *Upon his knowledge, the Militiaes are reſolved*

ſolved to cut the Soldiers throats in their beds. Why does he not diſcover who they are? Still the bloudy 11th. and 21th. of *Febr.* runs in his Head; *The Villanies of that night*, how hardly does he digeſt them! and then *the Catalogue of Saints (the Holy-ones of the Rump)* that nettles the Bum terribly. That *marks* them out for a *Maſſacre*, he ſayes. The Worthies have behaved themſelves well the mean while, that call themſelves the People. Why, at the worſt, if the People have a minde to deſtroy themſelves, they cannot begin better than at the Breech; that's a good way from the Heart.

The Story of your *Governor* is every bodies tale. I'll only take the Applicable part; *We love the* TREASON, *but we hate the* TRAYTOR. 'Twas you Betray'd your Countrey's truſt to the Army. They love the Treaſon, but they hate the Traytor. ('Tis as fit as if it had been made for you.)

Now your *Advice*, which is ſcarce worth a Fee; for --you propoſe things Impoſſible: *Rendezvous firſt*, you ſay: why you Phanſie, ſure, that the General is of the Plot; and that his Officers are all mad; and then you propoſe a Confederacy, as 'twas at NEW-MARKET: your little Agitators, &c. —— Fie, Fie! Gentlemen, here's the difference of the Caſe; the Nation then was with the revolted Party againſt the Great ones: Now, they're Unanimouſly againſt you, in any ſuch Deſign. Your General is a Gentleman and a Soldier; and every Man that is either, (in the Kingdom) will die at's Feet: His Officers are Perſons that underſtand Honour, and the Diſcipline of War. There's not a man among them, but when he comes to paſſe a Sober Thought upon ſo baſe an action as a Mutiny, would rather Periſh than promote it.

Beſide,

Beſide, you are diſcovered with the firſt breath that utters the leaſt Syllable, tending to Conſpiracy. Could I believe, the Conſcience of that Traytor that adviſes you to this, would let him Sleep, I ſhould believe his Councel but a Dream, 'tis ſo remote from any due Coherence of right Reaſon. Come, ſhall I Counſel you a little? Be obedient to your Superiors; Compaſſionate to your Countrey; Juſt to your Equals: *In fine*, ſerve God, and honour thoſe whom he hath ſet over you for your Good.

'Tis not the Fool's Reviling of his Betters, that mends your Cauſe, or makes ours worſe. *There are* (as he ſayes) *Ropes twiſting*, I believ't, but they are for ſuch Imps as himſelf. He tels you, *Gallows are ſetting up for the executions of your friends*; (and he accounts himſelf one of your friends) who knows what may come on't? He concludes with a Proverb; *Men* ARM'D *are ſeldom* HARM'D. Take mine too, and ſo ſhall I conclude: *Save a THIEF from the Gallows, and he'll CUT your THROAT.*

April 4.
1660.

Libido Dominandi, Cauſa Belli.

The

THe *Militia* of the Nation, being at preſent in good forwardneſſe toward a ſettlement, was yet quickned by *Lambert*'s eſcape out of the Tower, which was underſtood to ſignifie more than his particular Freedom and Safety, by reaſon that he had already refuſed Liberty upon engagement to be quiet. Hereupon the General placed four Companies of his own Regiment in the Tower; and the Council of State iſſued forth a Proclamation againſt *Lambert* and his Complices, requiring all perſons whatſoever to be aſſiſtant to the Suppreſſion of them. The Citizens repair'd their *Poſts* and *Chains*, ſtrengthened their Guards; and (in ſhort) the whole Nation was as vigilant as poſſible to diſappoint the Grand Conſpiracy of the Phanaticks. About this time they made ſeveral Attempts in order to a general riſing; but by the care and Conduct of the *Council*, the General, and the Militia, all came to nothing; the heart of the Deſign was almoſt broken: and yet they would not leave their Pamphleting. Particularly *Milton* put forth a bawling piece againſt Dr. *Griffith* and ſomebody elſe another ſcurrilous Libel, entituled, *EYE-SALVE*: I did not think it much material to reply upon theſe, the people being already convinc'd of the Right; but however, being excited to it by a private Friend, I return'd theſe following *Anſwers*.

BRITISH MUSEUM

NO
Blinde Guides,

In ANSWER

To a ſeditious Pamphlet of
J. MILTON'S,

INTITULED

Brief Notes upon a late Sermon Titl'd, the fear of God and the King; *Preachd, and ſince Publiſhd, By* Matthew Griffith, D. D. *And Chaplain to the late KING, &c.*

Addreſſed to the Author.

If the Blinde lead the Blinde, Both ſhall fall into the Ditch.

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Broome April* 20. 1660.

Blinde Guides

In Answer

To a Seditious Pamphlet

INTITULED

Brief Notes upon a late Sermon Titl'd, the Fear of God and the King; Preach'd [illegible] By Maulem Griffith, D.D. and Chaplain to the late KING &c.

Addressed to the Author.

If the Blame lead the Blinde, Both Shall fall into the Ditch.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Browne, April 20. 1[illegible]

NO Blinde Guides, &c.

Mr. Milton,

ALthough in your *Life*, and *Doctrine*, you have *Resolved one* great *Question*; by *evidencing* that *Devils may indue Humane shapes*; and proving your *self*, even to your own *Wife*, an *Incubus*: you have yet *Started Another*; and that is, whether *you* are not of *That* Regiment, *which carried the Herd of Swine headlong into the Sea*: *and moved the People to beseech Jesus to depart out of their coasts.* (*This* may be very well imagined, from your suitable practises *Here*) Is it possible to read your *Proposals of the benefits of a Free-State*, without Reflecting upon your Tutours — *All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down, and worship me*? Come, come Sir, lay the Devil aside; do not proceed with so much *malice*, and against *Knowledge*: —— Act like a *Man*; — that a good Christian may not be affraid to pray for you.

Was it not *You*, that scribled a Justification of the *Murther* of the *King*, against *Salmasius*: and made it *good* too, Thus? *That murther was an Action meritorious, compared with your superiour wickedness.* 'Tis *There*, (as I remember) that you *Common-place* your self into *Set terms* of *Railing*, two Pages thick: and lest, your Infamy should not extend it self enough, within the Course and Usage of your *Mother-tongue*, the *Thing* is Dress'd up in a *Travailing*

ling Garb, and *Language*: to blaſt the Engliſh Nation to the Univerſe; and to give every man a Horrour for *Mankind*, when he Conſiders, *You are of the Race.* In This, you are above all *Others*; but in your ICONOCLASTES, you exceed your *ſelf.*

There, not content to ſee that Sacred Head divided from the *Body*; your piercing Malice enters into the private Agonies of his ſtruggling *Soul*; with a Blaſphemous Inſolence, invading the Prerogative of God himſelf: (Omniſcience) and by Deductions moſt *Unchriſtian*, and *Illogical*, aſperſing his *Laſt Pieties* (the almoſt certain *Inſpirations* of the *Holy Spirit*) with *Fargeles* and *Prevarication.* Nor are the *Words* ill fitted to the *Matter.* The Bold *Deſign* being ſuited with a conform *Irreverence* of *Language.* (but I do not love to Rake long in a Puddle.)

To take a view in particular of all your Factious Labours, would coſt more time, than I am willing to afford them. Wherefore I ſhall ſtride over all the *reſt*, and paſs directly to your *Brief Notes upon a Late* SERMON, Titl'd,

The Fear of God and the King.

Preach'd, and ſince Publiſh'd by MATTHEW GRIFFITH D. D. *and Chaplain to the late* KING, &c.

ANy man that can but *Read* your *Title*, may *underſtand* your *Drift*; & that you Charge the *Royal Intereſt*, & *Party* thorough the *Doctour's* ſides. I am not *bold* enough to be his *Champion*, in all particulars; nor yet ſo *Rude*, as to take an Office moſt properly to him Belonging, out of his Hand: Let him acquit *himſelf*, in what concerns the *Divine*; and I'll adventure upon the moſt material parts of the *Reſt.* (but with this Profeſſion, that I have no deſign in expoſing *your* Miſtakes, ſaving to hinder them from becoming the *Peoples.*)

Your

Your *Entrance* is a little *Peremptory*, and *Magisterial*, methinks, (but that shall be allowed you) 'please you, wee'll see how *Pertinent* it is, and *Rational*.

I Affirmd in the Preface of a late discourse, Entitl'd, *The ready way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation*, that *the humor of returning to our old bondage, was instilld of late by some deceivers*; and to make good, that what I then affirmd, was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people; and if I prove him not such, I refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

TO the *First*: give me leave to mind you, that you make an *Observation* of things *Past*, amount to a *foretelling* of what's to *come*. This *Sermon* was not *Preach'd*, when *that Humor* you mention, was *Instill'd*. Next; You'll as hardly satisfie the *people*, that you your self, are *no Deceiver*, as prove the *Doctor* one of those you *meant*. And thus I'll Instance; KINGSHIP, is *your old Bondage*; RUMPSHIP, *ours*: (Forgive the Term) *You* were *Then*, Past the *One*: we are now (God be thanked) past the *Other*: and should be as loth to Return, as *You*. Yet you are Tampering to *delude* the *People*, and to withdraw them from a *Peaceable*, and *Rational expectancy* of *good*, into a *mutinous*, and *hopeless attempt* of *mischief*.

By your own Rule now, who are the Deceivers: We, that will *not Return to our old Bondage*; or *you*, that would *perswade* us to't?

Your next Paragraph talks of *Purgatives*, *Myrrhe*, *Aloes*, *&c.* — It may be an Apothecaries Bill, for ought I know, and I have no skill in Physique.

As little shall I concern my self in your unmannerly descant upon the *Epistle*, which is the Business of your *Second* Page. The *Third*, conteins your *Gloss* upon the *Text*, and that I shall examine.

The Text.

Prov. 24. 21. *My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change, &c.*

Letting,

Letting paſs matters not in controverſie, I come to the main driſt of your Sermon, *the King*; which word here is either to ſignifie any ſupreme Magiſtrate, or elſe your latter object of fear is not univerſal, belongs not at all to many parts of Chriſtendom, that have no King; and in particular, not to us. That we have no King ſince the putting down of Kingſhip in this Commonwealth, is manifeſt by this laſt Parlament, who to the time of thir diſſolving not only made no addreſs at all to any King, but ſummond this next to come by the Writ formerly appointed of a free Commonwealth, without reſtitution or the leaſt mention of any Kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at preſent any King of *England*. The main part therefore of your Sermon, if it mean a King in the uſual ſenſe, is either impertinent and abſurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if King here be, as it is, underſtood for any ſupreme Magiſtrate, by your own exhortation they are in the firſt place not to *meddle* with you, as being your ſelf moſt of all the *ſeditious* meant here, and the *deſirous of change*, in ſtirring them up to *fear a King*, whom the preſent Government takes no notice of.

NOt to contend about the *Large*, or *Limited* Senſe of the word KING: ſince 'tis agreed upon, at all hands, to ſignify *Supreme Authority*; and, where a *Single Perſon governs*, to denote the *Monarch*. The iſſue reſts upon this Point: *Is* there, or *is there not* at preſent, any King of *England*? You ſay, *No*; I'm of another mind: Compare our Reaſons.

You Argue; *Firſt, the Putting down of Kingſhip*; and *then*,— the Tacit *confirmation* of that *Act*, by the laſt *Seſſion*: who *without any Addreſs to any King, or Reſtitution of any Kingly Right, ſummoned the next to come by the Writ formerly Appointed of a Free Commonwealth.*

To your Aſſumption, that *Kingſhip was put down*; I cannot ſubſcribe, till I am better ſatisfied, *by what Authority: for no Form of Government can be altered, but by conſent of all the Parties to it.* In ſhort, the late *King* was *Deſtroy'd*, *Kingſhip Aboliſh'd*, the *Houſe* of *Lords Diſauthoris'd*, and at leaſt 7. parts of 8. of the *Commons Members ſecluded — by the ſame Power.*

Come to your *Inference* now; *That*, halts of all four, *There*

was

was no King, because they did not mention him: you are a little bold methinks, to lay your *Brat* at the *Parliament Door*: and Father your opinions upon *them*, that in the case, would not declare their *own*.

Reasons of *State*, of *Honour*, and *Convenience*, might very fairly move them to suspend. Suppose they thought it *Prudence* to refer all to the next Convention, without so much as a Debate; whether a *King*, or *No*: and upon this point of extreme necessity (the Nation running headlong, into another War without the Interpose of a new Representative) rather dispence with something of Informality in the Writs, than otherwise to hazzard the main Issue of the Publique weal. If all this be not yet enough, I hope the re-minding the *Nation* of the COVENANT; and their *own* refusal of the Oath of ABJURATION, will content you.

Your 4th. Page, runs away in some mistakes concerning *Gideon*; (a Person, *Call'd* and set apart by God himself; guided by Divine *Inspirations*; and Acting without Partnership, the work he was employ'd upon.)

A little further, you deny the King, *the Power of life and death*, urging [*Page 4.*] *that 'tis against the declared Judgements of our Parliaments, nay of our Laws, which reserve to themselves only the power of life and death, &c.*

I'LL not deny, but a Parliament is above the King: (That is: The King is greater in Conjunction with his two *Houses*, than by *Himself*) but still this weakens not the force of my assertion; which is, that Kings must necessarily have that power: *without* it, they're no Kings (and 'tis the same thing in all Governments whatsoever, 'tis one of the Prerogatives Inseparable from Supreme Authority) But since you urge *the Declar'd Judgements of our Parliaments*, in favour of your opinion, I should be glad to see them.

Now for the Laws; 'tis true, they Pronounce Life, or Death; but the King's left at Liberty to Take, or to Remit the forfeiture, at pleasure. Enough is said of this.

If

If I were bent to *Cavil*, your 5th. Page would afford matter abundantly, where you extravagate upon the word *Anointed*, but That is more Peculiarly the *Doctor's* Buſineſſe, and I refer you to him. So are your ſlips, [*Page 6.*] but *Thoſe*, I cannot paſſe without a marque: For *There*, you ſhew your *Teeth*. (I might have ſaid, your *Eares* to boot).

But how will you confirm one wreſted Scripture with another: *1 Sam.* 8. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but me:* groſly miſapplying theſe words, which were not ſpoken to any who had *reſiſted or rejected* a King, but to them who much againſt the will of God had ſought a King, and rejected a Commonwealth, wherein they might have liv'd happily under the Reign of God only, their King. Let the words interpret themſelves: v. 5, 7. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel, when they ſaid, give us a King to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord ſaid unto Samuel, harken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I ſhould not reign over them.* Hence you conclude, *ſo indiſſoluble is the Conjunction of God and the King.* O notorious abuſe of Scripture! when as you ſhould have concluded, So unwilling was God to give them a King, So wide was the disjunction of God from a King.

Mr. *Milton*, when your hand was *In*, another verſe methinks ſhould not have over-charg'd you: and 'tis the very next too. *As they have ever done* (ſayes God to Samuel) ſince I *brought them out of Egypt, even unto this Day*, (and *have forſaken me, and ſerved other Gods*) *even ſo doe they unto thee. This*, would have given you light to read the *Reſt* by; and (poſſible) have done *you* the *ſame* ſervice, which you pretend to doe the *Doctour*. (But none ſo Blind as they that will not ſee eſpecially, had you but taken in likewiſe the verſe next Antecedent to your Quotation, which ſpeaks the *motive* to their ſuch *Deſires*; as the other does fairly imply the *Reaſon* of Gods *Diſapproval* of them, 'twas a hard miſſe, and an induſtrious one (I fear) to ſcape the 5, and 8, verſes, without the which, the 6 and 7, (which you make uſe of) have no intelligible Coherence. *Make us a King*, (ſay they)

to Judge us like the NATIONS *v.* 5. and after That, *v.* 8. God charges them with inclinations to *Idolatry*; so that the inference is open; They had a hankering after the *Gods* of the Nations, as well as the *Kingship*; and *That* moved the All-seeing wisdome, (that knew their hearts) to tell *Samuel*, saying, *they have not Rejected Thee, but Mee*: a Speech applyable to their *Disobedience*, rather, than to their *Proposition*: *God* is rejected, in the rejection of his *Ministers*. —— This is a stubborn Text Sir, and will not mould as you would have it.

Had not they against the will of God, sought a KING, *and rejected a Common-wealth*, you tell us, *that they might have liv'd* HAPPILY *under the reign of God onely their King*. (Indeed you have the best intelligence) —— I beseech you how doe you know this? whom God *loves*, he *chastens*: and *persecution*, in *this* world, is the Portion of the Saints. It's true; their obedience to God *here*, would certainly have rendred them Happy *hereafter*; but *this* is not the Happinesse you drive at. Look back now upon the 3. *verse* of the same Chapter; and there you'll find some Reason to apprehend the contrary. For *Samuel* being Old, and having made his sonnes *Judges* over *Israel*; the Text sayes, that *his sonnes walked not in his wayes, but turn'd aside after Lucre, and took Rewards, and perverted Judgement, &c.* now, if from *hence*, you can perswade your self into a good opinion of a Popular Government, I cannot blame your stickling for the *Rump*; But that this *mis-rule* should please *God*, your modesty I hope will not pretend to offer. You'll say however, that the *Popular form* did; I'll not contend about it; Did not the *Regall* too, as much in *David*; a *King* of God's particular *choice*, and a *man* after his Own *Heart*? So that you gain little by the odds of a *Free-State* in ballance against *Monarchy*. In one word: The *Saviour* of the *world* was a KING, and a *King* of *Jewes*.

Grant, or *Denie* at pleasure, I have you in a Net. Why would you meddle with a Chapter, that you were sure would burn your fingers? There's no Relief you see, against Authority.

'Tis well you ſtopp'd ſhort of that *Lex Regni* which *Samuel* opens to the People; (beginning at the 11. *verſe* of the ſame *Chapter*;) from whence, lyes *no* Appeal. Truly, your inſincerity in this Section, is more expoſed, than I could wiſh it.

Under the Reign of God onely their King you ſay. This expreſſion, doubtfully implies you a Millenary. Doe you then, really expect to *ſee* Chriſt, Reigning upon Earth, even with *thoſe very eyes* you *Loſt* (as 'tis reported) *with ſtaring too long, and too ſawcily upon the Portraiture of his Vicegerent, to breake the* Image, as your Impudence Phraſes it? (It is generally indeed believed, you never wept them out for this *Loſſe.*)

In my Paſſage from hence, to your *Frog-morall*: I cannot but remember you that there was a *Plague* of Frogs as well as a *Fable. Frogs that crept into* the *Kings Chambers, and into* the *Houſes of his Servants, &c.* —— Now to your *Fable.*

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your Fable. The *frogs* (**being once a free Nation** ſaith the Fable) *petitioned Jupiter for a King: he tumbl'd amongſt them a log. They found it inſenſible: they petioned then for a King that ſhould be active: he ſent them a Crane* (a **Stork** ſaith the fable) *which ſtraight fell to pecking them up.* This you apply to the reproof of them who deſire change: whereas indeed the true moral ſhews rather the folly of thoſe, who being free ſeek a King; which for the moſt part either as a log lies heavie on his Subjects, without doing ought worthie of his dignitie and the charge to maintain him, or as a Stork is ever pecking them up and devouring them.

Mr. *Milton*, (to agree with you as far as poſſible) if *One Log* be ſo *Intollerable*, for the *Burthen*; or *One Stork*, for the *Cruelty*, and *Greedineſſe*: what do you think of 40. *Storks*, and every *Stork* a Log in his belly?

What do you think of a **Grand**, *Arbitrary*, & **Perpetual Counſel**; **and no more Parliaments**? (according to your Gratious Propoſition, [*Page* 8.] of your *Free and eaſie way, &c.*) And, in regard that *in a free Commonwealth*, **[illegible] who are greateſt, are Perpetual Servants,**

Servants, and Drudges to the publique, at their own cost and Charges, neglect their own Affairs; yet are not Elevated above their Brethren, Live soberly in their Families, walk the Streets as other men; may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without Adoration. [*Page* 4.] What do you think of the Rump-Parliaments Perpetuating it self, *under the name of That grand Counsel?* [*Page* 10.] *the Government being in so many* Faithfull, *and* Experienced *hands, next under God, so Able; especially Filling up their number, as they intend, and abundantly sufficient so happily to govern us:* [*P.* 11, *&c.*] Alas, these Gentlemen are very *Pigeons*, not a *Stork* among them; do not deceive your self Sir; you're one of those they have Fed: of the same *Plume*, and *Kind*; ask but the honest party of the Nation, and they shall tell you, that *Tom. Scot*, and his *Associate Patriots*, can *Peck*, as well as *Bill*.

Now we have *Play'd*, let's to our *Book* again, and be a little *Earnest*.

You charge the Doctor, in your 8. *Page*, for saying,

That by our Fundamental Laws, the King is the highest power, Page 40. If we must hear mooting and Law-lectures from the Pulpit, what shame is it for a Dr. of Divinitie, not first to consider, that no law can be *fundamental*, but that which is grounded on the light of nature or right reason, commonly call'd *moral Law*: which no form of Government was ever counted; but arbitrarie, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representers. This choice of Government is so essential to their freedom, that longer then they have it, they are not free. In this Land not only the late King and his posteritie, but Kingship it self hath been abrogated by a law; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a King forfeited to the people, as that Law heretofore of Treason against the King, attainted the Children with the Father.

METhinks you might have spar'd your Criticism upon the word *Fundamental*, being a *Term*, that *Usage* hath authorized; were nothing more in't: and soberly, I do not find but it may stand a nicer Test, than perhaps you'll impose upon it.

No Law (you say) *can be Fundamental but that which is grounded*

en the Light of Nature, or right reaſon, — which no FORM *of Government was ever counted, &c.* — So that tho' GOVERNMENT it *ſelf* directs to *Fundamentals*: yet the *Specification* of it, into ſuch or ſuch a FORM, does not. You are Queint, Sir: ſhew me *Government* without a *Form*, further than in *Notion*; and only *Notional* muſt be the *Laws* too that *ſupport* it. *Obedience* to *Superiors*, is a Moral *Fundamental*: and where, to *One*, or *More*, veſted with *unconditionate Dominion*, (I mean, as to the Power of Revocation) we once Contract a *Duty*; as the *Perſon*, and *Authority* are *Inſeverable*, ſo is the *Obligation Indiſpenſable*, which by a *Fundamentall Law* is become due; as well to the *King himſelf*, as unto *Kingſhip*. I ſhall be tedious, if I unty all your knots.

The Choice you ſay is Arbitrary; ſo 'tis in *Mariage*, that is, till we have paſs'd away our *Freedom*. (but you are for *Divorce*, I ſee, as well of *Governours*, as *wives*) Your next now is a ſhrewd one, (is it your *own* I pray'e?) *This choice of Government* (you tell us) *is ſo eſſential to the Peoples Freedems, that longer then they have it, they're not free.* In truth, you're in the Right. Is any *People Free*, where there is any Government? This is ſomewhat worſe, than the Doctors FUNDAMENTALL. FREEDOME and GOVERNMENT (in *Politiques*) *Contra-Diſtingu.ſh* one another. (have a care of this argument; for if the People are *Free* to *Chuſe*, they'll never Chuſe any of your Friends again)

But if the *King*, his *Poſterity*; nay, and *Kingſhip it ſelf, have been abrogated by a Law*; That's another matter.

By what *Law* I beſeech you? By the Law of a little *Faction*, that dares not put their heads upon a Tryal by the Eſtabliſh'd Law of the Land? (your next ſhift is wretched)

If that no Law muſt be held good, but what paſſes in FULL *Parliament, then ſurely, in exactneſſe of Legality no Member muſt be miſſing, &c.* —

I Anſwer you, that it is not the *Actual ſitting* of *All*, but the *Liberty* of *All* to *Sit*: not the *Fullneſſe* of the *Houſe*, but the *Freedom*

dom of the *Members*. It is one thing; a Law that's made in the *Abſence* of many of the Members, that might have been Preſent, if they would; (and are poſſibly fined for *non-attendance*) and another thing; the Vote of a *tenth Part* of That Body, which it *ſelf entire*, is but the *third Part* of the *Legiſlative Power*: This *Remnant* too by force of *Armes* violently ſecluding the *Reſt*.

But you have no Conſcience with you. *Kingſhip Aboliſhed* will not do your work it ſeems.

You ſuppoſe it never was eſtabliſh'd by any certain Law in this Land, nor poſſibly could be: for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of Government, more then we can bind our poſteritie? If a people be put to war with their King for his miſgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands how they will be govern'd. The war was granted *juſt* by the King himſelf at the beginning of his laſt Treatie; and ſtill maintained to be ſo by this laſt Parliament, as appears by the qualifications preſcrib'd to the Members of this next enſuing, That none ſhall be elected, who have born armes againſt the Parliament ſince 1641. If the war were *juſt*, the Conqueſt was alſo juſt by the Law of Nations. And he who was the chief enemie, in all right ceaſed to be the King, eſpecially after captivitie, by the deciding verdit of war; and royaltie with all her Laws and pretentions, yet remains in the victors power, together with the choice of our future Government.

IF *Kingſhip* was never eſtabliſhed, what was I beſeech you? had we *no Government*?

Nor could it be, you ſay: Alas then for *your ready, and eaſie way to* ESTABLISH a FREE COMMONWEALTH, what will become then of YOUR STANDING COUNCIL? *If no certain form of Government can bind our poſterity* (as you affirm) Then is it free at any time for the People to *Aſſemble*, and *Tumult*, under the colour of a new *Choyce*

Your *next* for altering the *Form* of *Government* upon a Quarrel

rell onely in point of *male-administration* : I think that cleers it ſelf.

You ſay that *the Warre was granted juſt by the King himſelf, &c.* and (a while after) *if the War were juſt, ſo was the Conqueſt alſo, by the Laws of Nations; — and that the victors, are free to chuſe, a Future Government.*

What would you give that I'd diſpute the *Originall* of the Quarrell with you? Come, we'll not differ about the *Kings Conceſsions* : Take it for granted, that the *Warre* was *juſt* : That is, *The Warre was Juſt to ſuch intents*, and *with ſuch limits, as were the evident, and declar'd ſcope, and Bounds of it.* The *Reaſons*, and the *Tendency* thereof, me-thinks they ſhould know beſt that *Levied*, and were *Parties* in it, and for *That*, take but one paſſage of above a Hundred, to the ſame purpoſe.

"We are (ſay they) ſo far from altering the Fundamentall Con-"ſtitution, and Government of this Kingdom, by King, Lords, and "Commons (*that we have onely deſired, that with the conſent of the "King ſuch Powers may be ſettled in the Two Houſes, &c.* ——*This Declaration* beats date *Ap.* 17. 1646. and is *entitled* —— A Declaration of their true intentions, concerning the Antient Government of the Nation, *&c.*

Now if the *Proſpect* of the *War* was *bounded*; in *Reaſon*, and in *Honour*, the Conqueſt ought to be ſo likewiſe. Eſpecially, where onely, *extreme neceſsity* was pleaded to make it appear *warrantable*; and where the *diſpute* was Lawfull Liberty, and Safety; not Dominion.

Again; 'twas not againſt the *King*, the *warre* was *raiſed*, therefore the *Conqueſt* cannot in Reaſon Reach him. His Honour, Safety and Support, the *two Houſes Vowed* and *Covenanted to maintain.*

Further; thoſe *Things* that you call *Victors*, may, by the ſame Pretence, claim to a Conqueſt over the *Lords*, and their *Fellow-Members*, whom they Forcibly caſt out; as well as over the *King*, and his *Pretenſions.*

Laſtly;

Laſtly; if *Victory* gives *Title*, your *Maſters* are gone too.

You fall now into a vein of *weighing Governments*: (your old Trade; and the very *Coffee-Boyes* have got the knack on't al moſt as well as you.) As you order the Scales, the *Common-wealth* goes *Down* moſt uſually, but now your great Civility gives *Us* the Better on't. FREE-COMMON-WEALTHS (as you will have it) *have been ever counted fitteſt, for* CIVILL, VIRTUOUS, *and Induſtrious* Nations, *&c.* believe *me* then, That Form's not Fit for *you*, and your *Adherents*.

MONARCHY, *Fitteſt* (as you hold it forth) *to curb* DEGENERATE, CORRUPT, IDLE, PROUD, LUXURIOUS *People*; *This*, does your buſineſſe then.

Upon neceſſity yet at laſt, I find, a *Single Perſon* you'l vouchſafe to entertain; provided, *ſuch a one as ha's beſt aided the People*, and *beſt merited againſt Tyranny*. (That's your *Caution*) this muſt be one of thoſe that turn'd the *Rump* out: for never was a more meritorious Service to the Nation.

Your next Page is a very Angry one. You'll have the *Parliament Ride the King*, you ſay, as well as *Bridle* him; and you'l perſwade the People that there 's *Law* for't too. The Queſtion's triviall; to cut it ſhort: *Rumps* are no Parliaments. But if they be ſo Sacred, as you argue them; how bold are you, that durſt propoſe the finall *Abrogation*, and *extinction* of them! (As in your *Ready way* you have, *in Terminis*, ſo often done.)

In the next place; If as you idlely ſeem to imagine, all our *Kings are created by Parliament, or Conqueſt*. What becomes of that *Maxime*, *Rex non moritur?* and why doe you ſwear Allegeance to *Him* and his *Heirs* poſitively, if there be any *uncertainty* of his being admitted to the Crown? [*In ſhort, his* Birth *entitles him to the Soveraignty.*] I doe not delight my ſelf in theſe conteſts, but I am willing to lay open your little Tricks to the People.

You urge next his *Coronation-Oath*, but Deceitfully, you make him by his Oath, accomptable to Act, (in Effect, according to the

the *Judgement* of the *People*, but he ſwears to Govern according to his *own* (neither does this ſuppoſe him at Liberty to Rule according to his *Will.*)

Once more; You ſay, *That the Kings principall Oath was to maintein thoſe Laws which the People* SHOULD *chuſe. (Conſuetudines quas Vulgus Elegerit)* Reconcile *Conſuetudines* (referring neceſſarily to what is *Paſt*) to *Elegerit*, in the Future *Tenſe*, and I have done.

FINIS.

HEnce-forward, there was little left to do, but to take *Names*, and Priſoners: for the Party Fell without a Blow. *Lambert* was taken (*Apr.* 22.) near *Daventry*, by Col. *Ingoldsby*; His Party Scattered, and Gather'd up as they were Found. *Apr.* 24. the City-Forces Muſter'd in *Hide-Park*, at which time, *Lambert* was brought up a Priſoner; and the Day following, the Lords and Commons aſſembled.

I Have now Finiſhed, what I dare ſcarce reflect upon. Yet 'tis no more, than what the City of *London*, and ſeveral Countyes have done in the ſame Caſe. That there are Rogues, there is no Queſtion, but yet I ſhould be loth to paſſe for One, if I can help it. Having diſcharg'd my Duty, firſt, to my Prince, and Country, I hope I may be now admitted to do my Self Right; with what Event, I do not much concern my ſelf. To deal Liberally; I look upon him that oppoſes a Multitude; as *One mad* man againſt *Many*. Nor do I know, which is the Greater Folly; to *Submit* the Judgement of Truth and Reaſon, to the great Patron of Paſſion, and Opinion, the Commor-people; or to *Diſpute* it with them. Me thinks the Caſe of *Calumny* does in ſome ſort agree with the Tradition we have of a man that encounters the Devil, in a Houſe that's Haunted: he Labours at it, Thruſts, and Fences; but in the End, he comes off, Bruis'd, and Foyl'd; Tir'd, and Baffl'd, with a *Shadow*. *Rumour* is but a *Phantôme*; every Fool can Rayſe it, but the whole world can hardly Lay't again. The beſt on't is, tho' it may *Fright*, and *Startle* ſober Perſons; it can *Harm* only thoſe that ſtruggle with it.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page	48	Line	27	For Design,	Read *Diligence*
	54		27	For to Chuse,	r. *to Sit*
	62		24	*dele* Have,	
	86		25	For Parliament,	r. *Parliaments*
	91		ult.	For him as,	r. *for him in as*
	95		13	For Cardinal,	r. *Carnal*
	96		20	For Cheate,	r. *Cheated*
	103		8	For to the work,	r. *to work*
	106		8	For were,	r. *where*
	107		27	For to Prey,	r. *a Prey*
	108		24	For Disclaim,	r. *Declaim*
	128		18	For without,	r. *Beyond*
	129		8	For the Declaration,	r. *a Declaration*
	8		11	For This Losse,	r. *his Losse*
	9		10	For these very Gentlemen are Pigeons,	r. *These Gentlemen are very Pigeons.*

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ANALYSIS

OF

RHETORIC

TO THE

HONOURED

Sir LAWRENCE BROMFEILD,

Knight, and Colonel in

LONDON.

Honoured Sir,

YOU have been pleased (in order to composure of our unhappy differences) to suggest unto a grave and learned Divine, a considerable case of Conscience Relating to Church-Discipline, (*viz.*) *The consistency of Episcopacy with the Solemn League and Covenant*, and you have thereby produc'd his Resolution unto the *loosing of Saint Peters Bonds*, as he is pleased to Entitle it: You may Sir, remember, it is *Solomons* experienced Rule, *It is a snare (or stumbling stone) to devoure holy things, and after vows to make enquiry:* How to keep or retract them (saith *Mercer*;) for that, indeed, many times, the Resolution proveth more entangling than the Obligation; I wish that this were not found the unhappy fate of Dr. *Gauden his sence and solution of the Covenant in point of Episcopacy.* Prov. 20. 25.

Truly Sir, according to that little skill that I have in things of this nature, this *Resolution* to your enquiry is so sadly shipwrackt on the *uncertainty of the object*, *inadvertency of expression*, and *imbecillity of Answer and Argument*, those three Rocks that lay-

lay-way conſcience-ſatisfaction; that it cannot arrive at its deſired haven; but notwithſtanding its Angelical voice will leave Saint *Peter* as faſt fettered as it found him: If Sir, I may do it without offence, I would make bold to diſcover it that ſome other attempt for Saint *Peter's* reſcue may be undertaken.

Uncertain propoſal of the object.

Firſt, Sir, there is not a greater danger to be ſhunned by a *Caſuiſt*, than *a miſtake, or uncertain propoſal of the object*, or Ratio formalis *of the obligation ſcrupled and to be diſcharged*, which giveth occaſion to the ſcrupulous conſcience more eaſily to ſtart from the moſt pinching Concluſions that are put upon it; and herein Sir, if I miſtake not, the Dr. is very unhappy; for he propounds the object, or *Ratio formalis* of the Covenant, under the general term *Epiſcopacy*; the which he well knoweth, is owned as an appellation common to all and every the Governours of the Church, who are in Scripture denominated *Biſhops*; and by good demonſtration *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* have been aſſerted to be ſynominous titles of Church-Officers, and are found to have been ſo uſed in the Primitive times of the Church, and Writings of the Fathers; and in this ſence the *Epiſcopacy* which he ſuppoſeth to be the object of the Covenant, intends only the Government of the Church by the Miniſters and Officers thereof, who may, and muſt in their ſeveral Aſſemblies (*ordinis cauſa*) have a Preſident or Moderator to regulate and diſpoſe all things which belong to Order; as in all policy to the Chair belongeth; and if this be it he means by his *Epiſcopacy*, *Primitive, Regular Reformed, and Paternal Epiſcopacy*: which I could eaſily imagine when I obſerve the Emphaſis of his univerſal diſcretive *All Epiſcopacy*, p. 9. and elſewhere often mentioned, and that in an oppoſition to *ſome Epiſcopacy abused and fit to be extirpated*; and that it is explained by the adjuncts, *Reformed and Regulated as it ought to be*, as p. 8. and oppoſed to an *Epiſcopacy* the confeſſed Subject of *abuſive exceſſes and defects* not only in the *execution of its authority, through the faults and infirmities of ſome Biſhops and their inſtruments; who poſſibly were not ſo worthy and good; or not ſo wiſe, and diſcreet, as became Chriſtian Biſhops, and Eccleſiaſtical Governours of Chriſts Church*; but alſo in the very *inconveniency of its Conſtitution and Cuſtoms in* England, *pag.* 10. In

Acts 20. 28.

The true ſence of Epiſcopacy conſiſtent with the Covenant.

both

both which he confeſſeth, *page* 21. there needeth *an honeſt and ingenuous Reformation of Epiſcopacy, beyond the former exceſſive, or defective conſtitution, or execution of it*: And more particularly by that Explication which is annexed in *page* 14. *The efficacious conjunction of it with Presbytery according to the Reduction of the moſt Reverend Primate of* Armagh, *and the conſiderations of the Lord* Verulam *offered to King* James: If I ſay, this be the *Epiſcopacy* he means, I humbly conceive in his Book, he doth *ſudare de nugis*, labour to little purpoſe; for ſo far is any intelligent Covenanter from looking on their *looking back, to the Primitive, Catholick, and Univerſal Government of this, or any other Antient Churches; to endanger the turning of them into Pillars of Apoſtacy, as* Lots *wife was into a Pillar of Salt*, that they judge an arrival at it, to be their *Zoar, in their eſcape from Sodom*: and hereof he might have aſſured himſelf by what (*pag.* 22.) he profeſſeth himſelf to *know to have been the ſenſe of the learned men in the late Aſſembly of Divines*, and by Mr. *Marſhal's* Declaration, That the Covenant was levelled at the *Diſpoticum Tyrannicum Regimen*; there are no Covenanters that know any thing of the true nature of Preſbytery, but they will embrace this *Epiſcopacy* as not only conſiſtent with, but the very complement of the *Covenant* as to that point and Article; and will confeſs this is not only *the honeſt*, but *literal and complexive meaning of it*, and with him will condemn them for *Rigid Bigots, and virulent ſpirits*, to be ſlighted, not ſtriven with, who conceive themſelves bound againſt ſuch a *Primitive, Reformed, and Regular Epiſcopacy* under ſuch a reduction (as I conceive) would prove the formal corruption of the *Epiſcopacy Covenanted againſt*, and I hope he will find *few, very few* ſuch Covenanters in *England*.

But if Sir, by *Epiſcopacy* he mean (as I muſt confeſs I am jealous he doth) that *frame and fabrick* by which the man of ſin was made manifeſt, did advance himſelf in the Temple of God, above (not only all his fellow Miniſters or Biſhops) but even Magiſtrates, all that were called God; *which was*, by his appearance and exaltation, *innovated into, and obtruded on* the Churches of God in theſe Nations, on the fall of the Monks of *Bangor*, and *was ſo exerciſed*, that *Anſelm* (whom *Laude* ſucceeded, as in place, ſo in property, and almoſt power) did ap-

The vulgar and late acceptation of Epiſcopacy repugnant to the Covenant.

appear *Papa alterius mundi*; *wherein* Biſhops as a ſpecies or kind of Miniſters different and diſtinct from Presbyters; and ſo Superior to them, not only in point of Order, but Office and Authority, together with all that *Hierarchy* by which it was executed; all which his terms do too plainly ſuggeſt when he ſpeaks of the Epiſcopacy *which England ſometimes had; was lately deſtroyed, the legal Epiſcopacy*, page 19. an Epiſcopacy *wherein the Biſhops* are diſtinct from *Presbyters*, pag. 21. arrogate unto themſelves the ſole power of *Ordaining* Miniſters, and to be the chief *Conſervators*, *Ciſterns*, and *Conduits* of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and Miniſterial power, p. 12. who have not only Precedency and Order, but *paternal authority*, p. 18. and that not only over *people*, but their *Paſtors* who are by this Antitheſis *fraternal* with them, and ſo *filial* to the *paternal* power of the Biſhops; and make up the *paternal, fraternal, and filial unity of Biſhops, Presbyters, and People*, p. 5. Nay, in oppoſition to whom the ordinary Miniſter or Presbyter, is diveſted of all power, and degraded of all dignity among the people; and the Biſhop, as dignified above him, ſo diſtinguiſhed from him by his Lawn ſleeves, which is plainly ſuggeſted when he tells us, *The people of* England *are not to be governed by their equals and inferiors, becauſe they are in black Coats*, p. 17. All theſe expreſſions, with many of the like nature, do ſeem to ſet up and point out ſuch an Epiſcopacy, as is not Primitive and Regular: And I ſay, if this be the meaning of his Epiſcopacy, as the word (in the vulgar acceptation by the too long appropriation of it to ſuch an unjuſt and Anti-chriſtian frame of Government) may be underſtood: Truly Sir, then I muſt be free to tell him the ſence and very Letter of the Covenant is clear againſt it, and binds the taker *in terminis* to the *extirpation of Prelacy, that is to ſay, the Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy*. So that it is the thing, not its abuſe; the ſubject, not its adjuncts; the Fabrick, not its defects and exceſſes, is covenanted againſt; nor will the Covenant be accompliſhed, or the conſcience be ſatisfied by the removal of the *pride, preſumption, idleneſs, covetouſneſs, and tyranny of Biſhops*, whil'ſt the

pre-

preheminence, *prerogative*, *paternal power*, *and juridical authority*, assumed by them as distinct from and above all other Ministers of the Gospel, as the only immediate Successors of the Apostles, and enforced by their High Commission and Star-chamber with other imperial Courts, Officers, and proceedings, are continued and established; nor must he think by his Sophistical comparison, to deceive and delude the conscience, telling us, *page* 17, 18. *That, they that Covenanted against Popery, cannot think they did abjure, or must abhorre all those saving truths and duties of Christianity, which are mixed with Popery*; for whatsoever is *formal Popery*, though it be an *English Mass or Altar*, that, all that, though only that, must be abhorred; and I conceive it yet remains to be proved that the *paternal authority* of Episcopacy is a *saving truth, or Christian duty*, or not of the *formality of prelacy*, and clearly intended in the word *Hierarchy*, *Chief-Priesthood*, as the principle of all the unjust power and priority assum'd and exercis'd over other Ministers; and so that very government covenanted against. It is no hard case of conscience to resolve whether a man may use the good and substantial materials of a destroyed Fabrick; but I conceive it an high fallacy, from thence to impose the very form resolved against.

You see Sir, at what *uncertainty* we are left, whilst the *object of the obligation* is propounded under a general *term*, whose proper, primitive, and genuine signification, suggests *one thing*, and the vulgar and long-used acceptation suggests *another*: and our *resolution* is darkned by the multitude of expressions, concluding sometimes one, and sometimes the other thing; which of these shall a conscientious Covenanter embrace? You cannot Sir, but know, the work of a Casuist, is, to be full and clear in the discovery of the *Ratio formalis*, thing or matter; concerning which the conscience conceiveth it self obliged; and that it is a great unhappiness in an *Interpreter*, and much greater in a *Casuist*, to resolve *obscura per obscuriora*.

But Sir, that I may testifie my willingness to understand him, and cement, what in me lieth, the sad differences in the Church; Shall I intreat you will please to provoke the Doctor, and his Anti-Covenant-Brethren, such as seem to advance and promote *an Episcopacy* scrupled by Covenanters, to speak out, and clearly

to

to declare, whether they will admit the removal of the Government by Arch-Biſhops, and that late Hierarchy; which he concludes, *pag.* 18. is dead, and muſt riſe in another quality; and (according to what is ſuggeſted in the *Reduction* by him urged) conſent to the eſtabliſhment of Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial, and National Aſſemblies, or Synods of Church-Officers: *Communi concilio Presbyterorum*; to debate and determine the affairs of the Church, and exerciſe all Acts of diſcipline and Eccleſiaſtick power: In each of which if there be *Ignatius* his *Angel*, *Tertullian* his *Summus ſacerdos*, or *Armagh's Biſhop, or Super-intendent*, for order-ſake to call Aſſemblies, propound queſtions, gather ſuffrages, require Order and compoſure in audience and debate, pronounce ſentence, and ſign Decrees, and to be fixed in that place, enjoying all the dignities thereto belonging, and to be diſtinguiſh'd by ſome ſpecial denomination from his Chorepiſcopi or Colleagues; they ſhall not only enjoy my conſent (who I hope make conſcience of the Covenant) but alſo endeavor (which I think will not much need) that all the Covenanted Miniſters may joyn with them in a Petition to His Majeſty, that by a Synod (by His Majeſties Authority) called, it may be ſpeedily conſulted and concluded on; under which I doubt not but the Peace of the Church will be preſerved, and power of truth and godlineſs be promoted.

Presbyterial Episcopacy admitted.

But if nothing will ſerve them but Biſhops, diſtinct *in order and office* from Presbyters, and exerciſing over them *a paternal authority*; appropriating to themſelves the *power of ordaining Miniſters*, and the *ſucceſſion* to the Apoſtles, and the Juriſdiction before noted; we muſt intreat him to produce thoſe *clear, pregnant, and conſtant beams of right reaſon, and true Religion, which ſhineth in the brightneſs and ſtability of Divine and Humane Laws; which may be the pillars of this truth, firm ſupports of duty, ſure bounds of obedience, and ſafe repoſe of conſcience in this point*; greatly darkned by the many diſputes of Biſhops and Presbyters; Papiſts and Proteſtants; nay, by the poſitive aſſertions of both Papiſts and Proteſtant Divines, and determinations of Schoolmen, who have concluded *Biſhops and Presbyters to be Miniſters ejuſdem ordinis, equal in office and authority, and in this very caſe of government*; all which his very Reduction propoſed doth not obſcurely ſuggeſt. Sir, the con-

Domineering Prelacy refuſed

conſcience is (by him confeſſed) to be more *tender*, than to be deluded with Sophiſtry, or ſilenced by a pretence of Regulation and Moderation, which intends no other, ſave a Reduction of *Epiſcopacy* to its priſtine and corrupt eſtate, not unto *Preſbytery*.

Thus Sir I have noted the firſt Rock, and the Doctor's unhappy daſhing againſt it; which muſt needs render ineffectual, whatever he after writeth.

The *inadvertency of his expreſſions* will appear no leſſe evident, than his ambiguous ſtate of the Scruple, and its reſolution; if we either obſerve its *fierceneſſe* or *falſehood*: The fierceneſſe of it is much manifeſted in thoſe multiplied invectives uttered againſt the *Covenant* and *authority* which did enjoyn it; and perſons who did compoſe it; in theſe and the like intemperate terms, "*a ſtratagem of State, a Flag of Faction, an engine framed of purpoſe to batter down Epiſcopacy*, page 13. "*Covenanting complements, and Reformings of bungling Reformers*, page 24. *The petty compoſition of a few politick men, Subjects, not Princes, and very mean Subjects too, ſome of them, either as Lawyers or Miniſters, a great part of whom, I and others well know to be no very great Clerks, or Stateſmen, fitter for a Countrey cure, than to contrive Solemn Leagues and Covenants; whoſe heads, rather than their hearts; and their State Correſpondencies, more than their conſciences brought forth the Covenant*, page 11. *The effect of Scotiſh importunities, Engliſh compliances, and Presbyterian inſolencies*, page 5. *brought forth by the Midwifery of Tumults, and Armies, engaged and enraged parties, and factions; whoſe wrath and policy were not probable to work the righteouſneſe of God; evil Angels turning our waters into blood*, page 6,7. Theſe and many the like Railing, Taunting, and Intemperate terms, much below the expected ſobriety of a ſo publickly profeſſed *healer* of Englands wounds: yet as an evidence of his fury, he falſely chargeth the Covenant with moſt *ſad and unbleſt effects*, and to have been the cauſe of all the "*havocks in Church and State, improſperities, diſorders, confuſions, contempts, wars, ſpoyls, bloodſhed, upon all eſtates, and degrees, contempt of Religion, and neglect of Sacraments*, page 7. *One of the great Rocks*

Inadvertency of expreſſion.

Fierce expreſſions.

False charge.

"*for the King's ſhipwrack, no leſſe then the Churches and*
"*States, and that it was watered with the King's blood.* pag. 8.
I cannot but wonder to find Dr. *Gawden* thus *audacter calumniare*! for can any conſiderate Reader, or competent obſerver of the tranſactions of our Nations in theſe laſt years, reade theſe reproachfull ſpeeches, and not conclude them *a moſt poſitive and publick calumny?* Let the Covenant it ſelf be conſidered, and can it, by reaſon of any tendency in it ſelf, be charged to be the *proper cauſe* of ſuch prodigious effects? Is it not the moſt *fervent profeſſion* of *piety* towards God, *Loyalty* to the King, and *Juſtice* towards men, that can be made? Is it not the moſt *firm tie* to Religion that can be faſtned? and the *fulleſt ſecurity* of all kinde of Intereſts, the prerogative *of the King*, the Priviledges *of Parliament*, and Liberty *of the Subject*, which can be given? can any thing but ill-will repreſent to the world ſuch *unbleſt effects* as the natural products of it? and if ſome perſons engaged in it, have engaged in and acted ſuch horrid impieties, inhumane and barbarous actions, under the falſe cry of the Covenant, ſhall a man of juſtice, charge the baſtard-brood of ſuch prophaneneſs, to be the natural iſſue of ſo Solemn and Sacred an Oath!

But Sir, will not an obſervation of the time, when theſe ſad and unbleſt effects fell upon us, acquit the Covenant from being in the leaſt acceſſary unto the production of them? If my obſervation faile me not, and I be not miſtaken in my account, the
Confuſion before the Covenant.
"throwing ſtools at the heads of the Biſhops in *Scotland*, the
"pulling down the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion
"Courts (thoſe grand ſupports of Prelatical Power) the taking away the Biſhops Votes and Seſſion in Parliament: The
"preparations againſt *Scotland*, (by Biſhop *Peirce* his *Bellum Epiſcopale*) the tumults about *Lambeth*, the impriſonment
"of the Biſhops in the Tower, the tumults about *Whitehall*
"and *Weſtminſter*, with his late Majeſties departure from the
"two Houſes, the ſetting up his Majeſties Standard, the alarums of War, with many battels and blood-ſhed; the violence of the vulgar againſt the Liturgy, Croſſes, and Altars,
"with all that confuſion and diſorder which attended our firſt
"unhappy differences, are of ſome years date before the Covenant was impoſed; or ſo much as deviſed, or digeſted; all which

which were not only begun, but carried to ſome conſiderable progreſs before it had its being; how then could theſe be the *black ſhadows of its appearing and prevailing in England?*

Some have obſerved, that from the time of the taking of the Covenant, ſucceſs fell on the ſide of the Parliament, and things did thenceforward grow into a tendency to peace, and reſted not untill it effected the Reſolves that *His Majeſties Conceſſions were ſatisfactory and ſufficient ground of peace*. And here let it be noted that it was ſo far from being *watered with the King's blood*, that when the debate (relating to His Majeſty) engaged the Conteſts in the Houſe, which run the Armies on thoſe high inſolencies againſt the Parliament, as to pull out violently 120. Members, who in *conſcience of the Covenant*, did purſue and ſtruggle for His Majeſties *Reſtitution with honour and happineſſe*, And the Covenant was by that perfidious pack openly declared uſeleſs, *an Almanack out of date*, and violated with the higheſt impiety imaginable, to make way to that execrable murther of his moſt Sacred Majeſty: Nay Sir, can the *clamours of the Covenant* (which were ſo loud in Preſs and Pulpit, by the Miniſters of *London* in their *Repreſentation to the Armies at Saint* Albans (before they perpetrated their horrid deſignes) in their publick *Vindication* Printed with their names ſubſcribed, witneſſing to the World the inconſiſtency of that *Barbarous proceeding* with the Solemn League and Covenant,) be ſo far out of the Doctor's remembrance, as to charge the Covenant (ſo Eminently approved *the pillar of witneſs* againſt it) to have been the *Rock of the King's ſhipwrack*, and *watered with his blood*? Your Caſuiſt was willing to have all the world to know * his innocency as to that inhumane wickedneſs; methinks Sir, he ſhould not quite over-look others no leſſe innocent than himſelf.

Covenant contreſt againſt the King's death.

*Reprinting his own proteſt againſt it.

Moreover Sir, many that are no *Rigid Bigots, or virulent ſpirits*, and have conſidered the concurrence of affairs in this Church, and Kingdom, think, that without breach of charity or ſobriety, they may conclude the *arrogancy of Prelates, the alterations of publick worſhip, the innovated Ceremonies and Superſtitions, the Oath* (*with its* etcætera) *binding to Canonical obedience, the excommunications, baniſhments, ſtigmatizing, Confiſcations, impriſonments, and high Commiſſion-Cenſures*

The more likely cauſe of our late confuſions.

ſures againſt pious Non-conformiſts, with the ſilencing and ſuspending painfull, powerfull and pious Preachers, with the Arbitrary, Illegall impoſition of the new Service-Book in Scotland, look much more like the natural parent, and proper cauſe of our late Confuſions, Commotions, War, and Bloodſhed, then doth the *Solemn League and Covenant*; but I intend not to retort or recrimate.

I ſhall Sir, leave wiſe men to judge, how unlikely a courſe it is, by ſuch *unadviſed expreſſions*, to ſatisfie conſcience; which is ſo tender and tickle, that all offences ſhould be avoided; paſſion is not only a perturbation to the mind, but alſo a prejudice to the underſtanding of what is propounded; the anſwer had need be clear, and arguments convincing, that follow ſuch provocations unto prejudice; which would make a ſober (much more a ſcrupulous) conſcience turn aſide and read no further; when conſcience is ſo tender that reaſon is ready to pinch it into paſſion, how little need is there to provoke it by Railings and reflexion of juſt miſcarriages? (much leſs unjuſt calumnies:) Though Ironies and Satyrs may become Oratours in reproof; they beſeem not Caſuiſts in the reſolution of conſcience-doubts.

The imbecillity of his anſwer and arguments, the third Rock of conſcience-reſolution.

But I proceed to conſider his anſwer and Arguments, purpoſing, by Gods grace, to yield to the power of Reaſon that is in them, though they come under ſo great diſadvantages as have been noted.

His Anſwer is as himſelf ſuggeſteth, double, indirect, and direct.

His indirect anſwer conſidered.

His firſt Anſwer is indirect, an oblique ſtroak at the whole body of the Covenant, which work, how prudently it is undertaken, conſidering the univerſall obligation of the Covenant on all men from His Sacred Majeſty, to the meaneſt Subject, let wiſe men judge? and how proper to him; who (if my information faile not) is himſelf engaged in it. It is indeed a notable piece of policy under pretence of *reconciling the Covenant in one Article to Epiſcopacy*, to invalidate the whole, and expoſe it to vulgar contempt; but if it be ſinful, let it go: His Rhetorick is Angelical, but let us try the ſtrength of his Reaſons, unto the looſing of St. *Peters* bonds.

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The main ſtrength of what he doth ſuggeſt againſt the Covenant, lieth in the *miſcarried Circumſtances* which doth relate unto the impoſing, and taking of it; (*viz*) its *defect* in point of impoſing power; the *terror and tumults* with which it was inforced; the *policy* and *humour* from whence it did ariſe and the *novelty* or *unacquaintedneſſe* of it as to our Engliſh Laws and Conſtitutions, or the like. Unto all which I ſhall only deſire the Dr. on ſerious and ſecond thoughts, to give a candid, clear, rational, and Scriptural reſolve, to this general Caſe of Conſcience, (*viz.*) if an Oath, Vow or Covenant, containing in it matter *good and lawfull*, (though not neceſſary and poſitive duty) be impoſed by fraud; (as was that of the *Gibeonites*) or *force, and factions, Army, and tumults* (as that of *Zedekiah* to *Nebuchadnezzer*) without any *formal authority*, other then a mans or peoples own voluntary Act and ſubmiſſion, which is new unto, and *unacquainted* with the Laws and Conſtitutions accuſtomed in the place, and to the people, and in ſomething repugnant to Gods direction be by reaſon of any, or all theſe miſcarried Circumſtances, *void and null*? I am much miſtaken if he croſs not the common reſolution of Divines and Caſuiſts, if he conclude the Affirmative; but let us conſider his ſuggeſtions ſingly, and ſo we ſhall beſt try their ſtrength.

The general ſcope of his arguments.

And his firſt on-ſet begins with an *I might ſhrewdly batter the Covenant*, and ſo he aſſaults it with that, which (I muſt confeſs) is indeed a battering Ram; and being admitted, will endanger to beat down all that hath been done in this Kingdom ſince 1641. arraigning, cenſuring, and condemning all the proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament; in which, I ſhall leave his prudence and diſcretion to be judged by ſuch, as are ſenſible how far his Majeſties Honour, the Kingdoms ſatisfaction and eſtabliſhment in the deſired peace, is endangered by ſo much as a Diſpute thereof: But the ſtrength of it lieth in this, the *defectiveneſs* of (and ſo the invalidity of the Coveuant) *as to any lawfull, conſtant, or compleat authority, capable to bind the Subjects and people of* England, *in any Court of Conſcience or Judicature, in which nothing can have any permanent bond, or tie in Law, except Gods Word without the Kings conſent; as the vow of a ſervant, ſon, daughter, or wife, &c.*

First argument, the Covenants defectiveneſs as to authority, *page* 6.

This

This I muſt confeſs is a fierce aſſault, and ſpecious argument; yet me thinks I finde a Covenanter fortified againſt its force, by the Wool-ſacks of theſe conſiderations,

Anſwer to it.

Firſt, The *two Houſes of Parliament* (and thoſe two had more then ordinary power) *are coordinate, and ſharers in the Legiſlation of* England; and ſo a conſtant, *lawful Authoritie*: It is Sir, worth your Obſervation, how warily in *page*. 18. your Caſuiſt binds the King to protect and preſerve his *Epiſcopacy*, but barrs his change of it, without the counſel and deſire of the two Houſes, whom he judgeth Propitious to it.

Secondly, *This Covenant was ordered by the Parliament during their Seſſion*: And although I will not determine, that an Order or Ordinance of one or both Houſes, can have the force and *permanent tie of a Law* (which yet among us will admit a diſpute by the ableſt Lawyers, and many purchaſers will plead for with vigour) yet I think it will not be ordinarily denied, that it may lay the Subjects under a *permanent bond*; and I conceive, theſe are terms very different; that is a *bond* on Conſcience, which is not a *Law* and *Tie* in Judicature: Orders of Parliament, directing an Act preſently to be executed, will not I hope be denied obedience; or the execution be voided by the after Diſſolution of it, eſpecially where it is in its own nature permanent and abiding. An *Oath* is in it ſelf, *natura rei*, a permanent bond, once laid it ever binds; a Parliament are a power ſufficiently compleat to impoſe and enjoyn it; if they ſee cauſe to bring a Colledge or Corporation under any ſpecial Oath, by an Order during their Seſſion, I hope no Engliſhman will queſtion their Authority; nor Divine deny the Obligation of the Oath; nor the one or other determine this tie to be diſcharged, when the Parliament is diſſolved.

Thirdly, *The ſuppoſed Defect hath been ſince ſupplied*; and His Majeſties conſent or aſſent fully expreſſed, by his *ſwearing* the ſame Solemn League, and by Oath *promiſing* His *Royall Aſſent* to all Acts and Ordinances enjoyning the ſame; and by His Royal Declaration of the 16th of *Auguſt*, 1650. declaring His full perſwaſion of the juſtice and equity of every the Heads and Articles of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; and ſo far, ju-

juſtifying the taking of it by His Subjects, that He graciouſly profeſſeth to know no *friends but the friends of the Covenant; and no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant:* Hereby, whatever defect was in the firſt impoſing of it, is fully made up to faſten it on the people now it is taken; ſo that by reaſon of this ſubſequent Act, I may ſay if by *Moſes* he will be judged, to *Moſes* he ſhall go; and admitting his parallel (which ſome doubt, will not in this caſe ſquare) if the *Father, Maſter, Husband, in the day that he heareth the vow of the Wife, Child, or Servant, hold his peace,* (contradict it not) much more if He *juſtifie, allow, and commend it*, as His moſt Sacred Majeſty hath done, on moſt ſerious and deliberate thoughts, in a moſt publick and ſolemn Declaration, it ſhall ſtand, and be eſtabliſhed.

But Sir, ſuppoſe the Dr. can pull down this defence, and manage his battery, ſo as to make a breach on the Covenant, yet before he enter, I muſt ſound a parlee with him; and deſire him to tell us whether the *quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*, pleaded to defend the wanton Baptiſme of Children, and haſty Baptiſme of Women, be not more really pleadable in our caſe: To make the worſt of it, "a tumultuous Aſſembly con-"vene, and come before us with Sword and Scepter, and ſay "they are a Parliament, and have lawfull, conſtant, and com-"pleat authority, to command us; and therefore will put an "Oath and Covenant upon us; and filly, inconſiderate we, are "not ſo well skill'd in politicks, or acquainted with the conſti-"tutions of our Country, to detect their fallacy, but think all "authority is within thoſe walls, and obedience muſt be yielded "to what is there commanded, and ſo we are beguiled into the "Oath; May we thence cry out A Cheat? and ſo caſt off the "Covenant? and conclude it cannot binde? I doubt ſuch Doctrine embraced will expoſe us to a three yeares Famine.

His firſt battery was ſo fiercely made, that it recoileth with a more than an ordinary Rumour; and makes him enforce it, *pa. 6.* with an *I might Eccho* (as indeed he hath done, for I find no certain ſound in what he ſaith) *the violence and noiſe of thoſe times in which it was batched in* England, *and brought forth by*

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Violence of times.

the midwifry of tumults and armies, of engaged, yea, enraged Parties and Factions; All which, it is well known, was not so great or loud, but that the Lords and Commons in Parliament, the Commissioners of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland*, with an Assembly of grave and Learned Divines, did after Solemn Humiliation, and seeking God, serious consultation, and sober debates, digest and determine the Covenant; and both matter and form doth bespeak it to have been no rash or preposterous product of Fancie: But suppose the worst; Will the violence of the times put a nullity and non-obligation on the Oath? How comes the sentence to be so severe against *Zedekiah? He hath despised the Oath, and broken the Covenant, he shall not escape*, Ezek. 17. 18. Was not this Oath extorted by Armies without, and tumults within? and yet is it so austerely binding? What ever Turks, Papists, or Politicians say, shall a Christian and Protestant suggest a nullity of the Oath, because of the violence of the times in which it was taken?

His third indirect answer to the Covenant.

His next Suggestion is a sound no lesse uncertain; he saith he might urge *the novelty and partiality of the Covenant as to the English Laws and Genius*: That he might, and might when he hath urged it. explain it; for the matter of it is neither *new*, nor *partial*; it hath been often heard, and endeavoured in *England*; in the very point of *Episcopacy*, the removal of *Englands* Hierarchy hath been sued for from * Queen *Elizabeths* time, downward unto this day and the Covenant secures all Interests without partiality; his surmise of *forrain influence, invension, and obtrusion*, calls for proof; and then it will but little relieve him; for an Oath enforced by forrain Conquest, or couzenage new to the Nation, and contrary to its Lawes; binds the conscience: and the supposed *contrariety* of the Law, is of no force to them, who conclude a Power in the Parliament to put a period to those Lawes, and a Solemn Oath or Covenant sworne by the Legislators, and by them put on the people, seem to be the most full discharge of all seeming-contrary Laws that can be imagined; especially when the Royal assent is publickly given to it,

* Witness Dr. *Whites* Epistle to *Laude* before his treatise of the *Sabbath*.

His fourth suggestion in his indirect answer.

He proceeds, *It might seem odious, to reflect upon the Covenant, as to the effects, and unblest consequences, which like black shadows, have attended its appearing*

ring and prevailing in England; *what havocks, improſperities*, &c. as before we have noted: This *Reflection* I confeſs, cannot but ſeem *odious*; but not to the Covenant, unleſs theſe ſad effects and unbleſt conſequences be found to attend it, as its *proper brood and natural iſſue*, not accidental ſequels; produced by its genuine tendency to them, not by wicked mens reluctancy to Order and Piety, or perfidy as to what they had covenanted; but the *Odium* will of its own accord reflect on him who is *a Covenanter*, and yet expoſeth his Solemn League and Covenant to vulgar *ſcorn* and *contempt*; who is a man of *juſtice and ſobriety*, and yet *calumniateth* the Covenant with thoſe ſad effects which had their being and progreſs before the Covenant it ſelf. Sure he dreams, that ſeeth the ſhadow, before the ſubſtance is in being; and who is a *Divine* deteſting the plea of *ſucceſs* as the Judge or Rule of any cauſe, and yet maketh it the meaſure of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Nor can his next Suggeſtion be conſidered unto the encreaſe of his credit; in which he tells us, *He will not inſiſt on the baffling of the Covenant, before it was adult or many yeares old; how it was ſoon made a* Nehuſhtan, *and reduced it to nothing, counter and croſs engagements after it had ſerved as one of the great Rocks for the King's ſhipwrack, and been water'd with the King's blood*, &c. Fifth Suggeſtion in his indirect anſwer, p. 7.

Truly Sir, had I been at your Doctors elbow when he wrote this, I would have adviſed him to have been ſo far from *inſiſting*, that he ſhould not have *inſerted* this, which he calls *baffling of the Covenant*: For Sir, will not every one cry ſhame, that ſhall hear him ſay the Covenant was one *of the great Rocks which ſhipwrackt the King?* and the *Covenant was watered with the Kings blood?* Who can conſider the *King's reluctancy to the Covenant* was not ſo much as inſerted into his Charge, not once taken notice of by *Bradſhaw*, amongſt thoſe many reaſons by him produced, to juſtifie that moſt execrable Sentence pronounced againſt Him? Who obſerveth the *Reſolves of the Parliament*, that his Majeſties Conceſſions (though He refuſed the Covenant) were ſatisfactory? and that untill the faithful Covenanters were pulled out of the Houſe by military violence, and the Band of the Covenant broken by the raging luſts of

ſome proud perjured Apoſtates, there neither was nor could be the leaſt proceeding againſt His moſt Sacred Majeſty, and yet conclude Him ſhipwrackt by the Covenant? becauſe ſome that had taken the Covenant did perpetrate that wickedneſs, will any Rules of Juſtice or Religion charge it on the Covenant? becauſe the Covenant was violated by force, ſuppreſſed by power, and ſlighted by policy, was it therefore vacated? when? by whom? or with what Arguments of Right reaſon, or Religion, was it ever baffled? was not its vigour made viſible by the *London* Miniſters *Repreſentation and Vindication*? was not its bound on conſcience made legible by the *Lancaſhire and Cheſhire plea for Non-ſubſcribers*, and the *teſtimonies* of the Miniſters in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, publiſhed with their names ſubſcribed? and was it not indeed Imprinted by the *invaſion and devaſtation* of *Scotland*? the *Sequeſtration and ſufferings* even unto impriſonment and death of many in *England*, purſuing His Majeſties reſtitution on the account of the Covenant? How can the Doctor confeſs, *Doubtleſs the ſence of the Covenant hath lately quickened many mens conſciences in their allegiance to the King, ſo as to bring Him* (as David) *home with infinite joy and triumph, page* 25. and yet here complain that it was ſo eaſily vacated in point of its *expreſs Loyalty for the King's preſervation*? If it were ever vacated, when, or how was it renewed and re-inforced? If *I* may ſpeak it without vanity, had not the firm bond of the Covenant vigorouſly contended in the point of Loyalty, againſt the violent powers which bare it down, His late Majeſties Martyrdom had not broken forth with ſuch luſtre; nor His now Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) been reſtored to that eſtate of Honour in which we now enjoy Him; ſo that the Antecedent of this ſuggeſted Argument will be moſt poſitively denied.

But if we ſhould admit, *I* cannot but wonder to hear a *Divine* ſay and inferre upon it; *If it were ſo eaſily vacated in point of Loyalty, I do not ſee, how it can be ſo binding againſt Epiſcopacy*: *I* think it to be no good Logick and worſe Divinity, from ſome mens *evaſion, and violation*, to infer a *vacation and non-obligation*; or from a *vacation* of it in one point, to infer its *non-obligation* as to others; ſin, indeed is apt, but it muſt not be allowed to engender ſin; by God grace gradu-

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all violation shall not affect in me a totall rejection of the Covenant.

His sixt suggestion seems indeed to be of more force than the former (*viz*) *The Covenant* (if so interpreted) must needs grate *sore upon, and pierce to the quick those former lawfull Oaths, which had prepossessed the souls and consciences of most of us in* England; *not onely of Subjects, as those of Allegiance and Supremacy, besides that of Ministeriall, Canonicall obedience to our lawfull Superiours, but even the conscience of the late King as bound by his Coronation-Oath, &c. From which Oaths, as we know no absolution, so neither can there be any superfetation of such a contradictory vow and Covenant without apparent perjury*: To which I offer to consideration, 6th Suggestion in his 2nd rect answer. p. 8.

That the dissatisfaction of His late Majesty of BlessedMemory, (and in nothing *more blessed*, than in the conscience He made of the Oath of God upon Him, and the charge he hath left His now *glorious Majesty*, That *if God brought Him to His own Right on hard conditions, He should be carefull to perform what he should promise*) that is now beyond dispute; and his Majesty that now is, not onely free from those Fetters which restrained his Royal Father, but also is engaged in the same League and Covenant, and this supposed contradiction cast out of doors.

And as to the contradiction of the Covenant to the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy, non constat*, it appears not; nor would it ever (as it hath done) have quickned the hearts of some, to suffer for, and to struggle under their Loyalty, untill His Majesties Honorable Restitution, if it were so repugnant to them: Let its contradiction in this point be noted, and we shall speak to it.

And as to that of Canonical obedience to our lawful Superiors, its contradiction is suggested with an *If it be so interpreted*; Let the interpretation be cleared, before the contradiction be concluded and argued; for if that Oath did binde an obedience to *Bishops* as an Hierarchie and invested with *paternall authority*, and as a *distinct and superiour order of Ministry*, and its unexplained *et cætera* included more; *a grating upon, and piercing to the quick this Oath*, was no other but duty; and then the Argument is of no more force, save to speak the fretting of their spirits, who foolishly sware they know not what, and now desire to maintain it, more for fancy, than con-

conſcience; for it is not yet proved that ſuch are lawful ſuperiors in Church and State.

His ſeventh Anſwer or Argument, is *ab incommodo*, the inconvenience (which muſt be very great and viſible if it diſcharge an Oath) and here he tells us, *It muſt needs run us upon a great Rock of not only Novelty but Schiſme*, &c. Unto which I deſire Sir, you will pleaſe to obſerve.

1. The loſs we are at by the uncertainty of the object; he urgeth this Argument with his univerſal diſcretive, *All Epiſcopall order and government*. We muſt Sir, have a clear Notion of Epiſcopal Order and Government, before we can with care ſhun the Schiſm, nor is it explained to us by the general terms of *Practice and Judgment of the Catholick Church in all ages and places till of latter dayes*; for we know, that *ſuperiority and paternall power over other Biſhops and Miniſters*, did too ſoon appear, and too univerſally ſpread after the Apoſtles days, unto the advancement of the man of ſin; though it prevayled not without great reluctancy, and its removal hath been aimed at and endeavoured by the Reformation.

Again, muſt we take it for granted, that *conformity* is eſſentiall to communion with the Church? and *agreement in diſcipline* unavoidably neceſſary to *union*? Certainly if ſo, we muſt make the very forme of Diſcipline an Article of our Creed: And truly Sir, the *jus divinum*, or Apoſtolical inſtitution of the form he ſeems to plead for, lieth too much in the dark for ſuch a concluſion; and therefore the moſt himſelf tells us of it is, That it looks like *an immediate inſtitution of Chriſt, preceptive and explicite, or tacite and exemplary*, page 13. but he knows not whether; yet well knows, *ſimile non eſt idem*; and therefore he here calls it but *an ancient tradition and univerſal obſervation*; and then the 34th Article of the Church of *England* ſecureth us from this Rock of Schiſme; whilſt it teacheth us, *It is not neceſſary that traditions be in all places one and utterly alike*, &c. In Politicks (we well know) different forms of Adminiſtration are conſiſtent with union in the ſame Kingdom, and Communion in the ſame Government; It is no ſtrange thing to ſee Corporations in *England* governed by their twelve Jurors, without a Mayor and Court of Aldermen, but it would be thought very ſtrange from thence to charge

39 Articles of Religion in the convocation held 1562.

charge them with ſedition! and it muſt be a *jus divinum*, and immediate inſtitution, not *Apoſtolical tradition, or Univerſal obſervation*, muſt bar us from the priviledges, any more than the dictated properties common to all policy.

Moreover Sir, if this form of Diſcipline (*which he noteth ſome few Reformed Churches of later dayes want, though they do not contemne, but approve and venerate in others*) be ſo neceſſary a Nerve, that the abjuration and excluſion of it runs us on ſuch a Rock of Schiſme, I ſee not how thoſe Churches (though *their want be through neceſſity of times, and diſtreſs of affairs, put upon them*) can be owned in the union of the Catholique Church; for eſſentials unto union muſt not onely be reverenced in others, but enjoyed by themſelves.

It is Sir, worth enquiry, what he means by the *Catholique Church*; for beſides the vulgar appropriation of it to *Rome*, and affection our late Prelates had to that term, his Note *That the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, is no ſmall wall of partition newly ſet up to keep all Papiſts from due Reformation*, makes me jealous the *Caſſandrian* accommodation is yet in the Biſhops intention and endeavor; upon which they would not put that reproach, ſcandal, ſcruple, or affront, as to be without Biſhops of *paternal authority*; but if ſo, happy is that Church whoſe Reformation carrieth them furtheſt off *Romes* Superſtition, in diſcipline, and worſhip, as well as doctrine.

His eighth Anſwer or Suggeſtion is a Rhetorical *ſwada*, and inſinuating plea, which hath wholly loſt its force by the uncertainty of the object: *If conſcience be erroneous*, we ſhall eaſily grant that it is *equal, and ingenuous, Loyal, and Religious, to reduce and confine it*; which yet muſt not, and will not be ſtraiter then the proper and genuine ſence of the Covenant will admit; but as for that *extravagant, diſloyal, unlawful, enormous, and Schiſmatical ſence*, againſt which he declaimes, in which *it could neither be lawfully taken, nor honeſtly kept*; it muſt be determined by an Explication of his *All-Epiſcopacy*, and full demonſtration of a ſence ſo qualified, before there can be any more ſtrength in this Rhetorick, than in his Reaſons: I muſt Sir, be free to tell him again, the Covenant doth expreſſely binde againſt the Fabrick, and very form of the late Hierarchy in *England*, not its *abuſes, exceſſes, or defects* onely: though not

Erroneous conſcience muſt be rectified.

againſt the uſe of any thing which was good, and fit to be uſed in the ſucceeding form to be eſtabliſhed; nor do I underſtand it to be ſuch an *unreaſonable and irreligious* (*Ametrie*) *tranſport for men to Covenant againſt all the right uſe of things that are good* (but not neceſſary) *becauſe of the abuſe incident to them*, as he doth ſuggeſt, though the Covenant is not guilty of ſuch obligation: But more of this in his direct Anſwer.

The Covenant authority proved, not only pretended by examples in the old Teſtament.

Having aſſaulted the Covenant with his fierce battery, and alarumed it with his frightful Ecchoes, he proceeds to *level to the ground all thoſe fair, but fallacious pretences* (as he deemes them) *drawn to fortifie the Covenant from Scriptures examples, wherein the Jewes ſometimes ſolemnly renewed Covenant with God*, &c. And the main and onely Morterpiece he lets flie, is, That *it was that expreſs Covenant which God himſelf had firſt made with them in* Horeb *and Mount* Sinai, *punctually preſcribed by God to* Moſes, *and by* Moſes (*as their Supream Governour or King*) *impoſed upon them; this they ſometime renewed after they had broken it by their Apoſtacy to falſe and ſtrange gods*: Unto the enforcement whereof, we muſt deſire the Doctor to demonſtrate, That the Law of *Moſes* or Covenant in *Horeb* was not onely the Rule and Dictate of what matter they ſhould Covenant, but the *expreſs Covenant* which was, or did conſiſt in the exact recital, and Repetition of that Law of the ten Commandements, as the very form thereof; ſo as that they never varied or altered it, according to their ſpecial defections, in the particular points of their lies; and that this was the *formal Government* between God and the people *in the times of Joſhuah*, and before *Iſraels* defection from God; or that this was the *Covenant* between God, the people, and King, and between the people and their King, *in the dayes of Jehoiadah*: Or that this was the expreſs Covenant made in the point of the *Sabbath*, and the putting away *ſtrange wives* in the times of *Nehemiah*. Theſe ſeveral occaſions, and ſpecial obligations, do beſpeak them to have been *Covenants*, conformed as to the *matter of them*, to ſome part of the ten Commandements; but as to their *forme* and manner of expreſſion, to have been ſquare by themſelves.

But whatever was the matter or form of their Covenanting,

imagine it will not be denied, that *the taking or renewal thereof* was their own political Act, done by their own will and power at the time, and on the occasion their own condition did require and dictate; and that many times without the consent of the King then ruling them, and so our *Covenant* (warranted for matter by the Word of God) is *by their example* justified, to have been *a pious and prudent action* within our own power to perform, though for the *form* of it, it be not any *Divine dictate, or Sovereign prescription*, yet better to be esteemed, *than the petty composition of a few politick men.*

Nor is there any strength in that; *we were not Apostatized to false and strange gods*; unless he will affirm no defection short of Apostacy from the true, to false gods, is a sufficient ground or occasion on which to renew Covenant; which I think neither right reason or Religion will allow; shall not gradual defections be restrained, and total Apostacy be superseded by a seasonable *Solemne League and Covenant*? Surely then *Joshuah* was too prepposterous, in working *Israel* into Covenant with God, on a jealousie or rational conjecture of their future Apostacy; and had *England* no need to Covenant, when they were posting *in doctrine*, especially *in worship and discipline*, to *Romes* Superstition and Tyranny? Can any man consider the corruptions continued in *England* since the Reformation, and so defended, that nothing but a soveraign Remedy could remove them? nay, the very Retrogradations of the Reformation, by a return of many expelled Rites, and Prelatical power, and say, because she *yet owned the true God*, she had no need to Covenant? If covenanting be an Act within mans own power and choice; and defection from God and his wayes inchoated or suspected be a just ground and occasion, *Englands* covenanting is fully fortified by Scripture and Reason, and the pretences thereof no way found fallacious.

His last Suggestion in his indirect Answer is of no force; for admit that there is *no precept or pattern for such a Covenant in all the New Testament* (which directs us as Christians, and leaveth us to the Dictates of Nature, and discoveries of the Old Testament, in more publike and political Acts which concern us as a Kingdom, or Church National) or *in the succeeding ages of the Church*; Will it therefore follow, that such co-

venanting is ſinful? the Primitive *Churches* never were of ſuch extent in the enjoyment of ſuch power, under ſuch publique defections, and in ſuch capacity of covenanting as we have been. Muſt we enquire what hath been done in the Chriſtian Churches to do that and no more, without regard to what may be done, the condition of the Church requiring it? may not the very *Ligue de Saint in France*, and *Oath et cætera in England*, though ſinful in their matter, be good Spurs and Directions in Chriſtian-policy? May not the ſame means uſed to corroborate impiety, be lawfully and prudentially uſed to ſtrengthen true Religion and Reformation? Why may not Popiſh policy teach Proteſtants to combine by Covenant, as Proteſtant piety and prudence did dictate to them a Confirmation in Religion by Catechiſing? Courſes common to men are not to be condemned, becauſe uſed by wicked men to wicked ends.

None Sir, do deny *the Covenant made in Baptiſme to be the only new Evangelical Covenant to all Chriſtians, broken by wilful and preſumptuous ſinnes, and renewed by repentance, and the participation of the Lords Supper:* But it ſeemes unto me a ſtrange tranſport of ſo grave and ſerious a Divine, to oppoſe it unto the *Solemne League and Covenant* (*that piece of policy, rather than piety*, as he is pleaſed to term it) The inconſiſtency of them I muſt confeſs is not to me viſible; ſure I am Baptiſmal Vows are no bar, but may be provocations to Solemn Covenanting to and with God; Let the matter of this Covenant be exactly ſcanned, and if it be in any one Article found repugnant to, or different from the Covenant made in Baptiſm, we will renounce the whole: I hope it will not be denyed, that Baptized Nations and Churches may (in their publique and politique capacities) renew and amplifie that Covenant which was made in Baptiſme: And truly Sir, the Solemne League and Covenant ſeems to me ſo little to differ from our Baptiſmal Covenant, that it is no hard matter to reſolve it into thoſe three grandHeads we are (inſtructed) were promiſed in our names when we were Baptized; and then all the difference will be in this; the Baptiſmal Covenant was perſonal and private; this publique and politique.

Baptiſmal Covenant, no bar to the Solemn League and Covenant.

But

But I pray let us note his ſpecification of the difference he ſuggeſteth, and the Reaſons of this inconſiſtency he urgeth; which he ſuppoſeth to be a μέγα χάσμα, crying out, *How vaſtly different from this Sacred Covenant, this late piece of policy, more than piety is; and how little the true Covenant of a Chriſtian binds him by his Baptiſme or Repentance, or the Euchariſt againſt all Epiſcopal Government, I leave all ſober-minded Chriſtians to judge.* Truly Sir, his univerſal particle *All*, may make ſomething look like *a vaſt difference*, if we could but underſtand the *ſpecies* he would pitch upon, as excepted by his diſcretive term; but the uncertainty of the object, is, that we cannot but ſtumble at in all the concluſions of his ſuggeſted Anſwers: Methinks ſuch an out-cry of *vaſt difference* ſhould have been warranted by a clear *Antitheſis*; Oppoſites cannot appear but by their oppoſition; and yet he ſpecifies no one Article different from our Baptiſmal Covenant; but ſophiſtically evades with an *How little do Baptiſm, Repentance, or the Euchariſt, bind againſt all Epiſcopal Government!* Theſe may Sir, very little bind againſt it, and yet the Covenant and they be at no vaſt *difference*; for the queſtion is not, How little the true Covenant in them agitated, *binds againſt all Epiſcopal Government*; but how much it *binds to any*? He is the firſt Divine I have found to plead our Baptiſm as the Bond of Canonical obedience, and defence of Epiſcopacy; I never did imagine *Diſcipline and Order* to be the expreſs poſitive condition of *Baptiſm*, and the *Chriſtian-Covenant thereby made qua Chriſtian*, the only new Evangelical Covenant; but eſpecially this *ſpecies* of it, *Epiſcopacy*. I hope his *Jus Divinum*, will be made as clear as the Doctrine of the Trinity, whil'ſt it is, and muſt be owned as the abſolute condition of *Baptiſm*, and nerve of *union with the Church*: Yet Sir, give me leave to tell the Doctor, if the late Hierarchy or Epiſcopacy of *England* (which he ſeems to advance as the late *honour of the Miniſtry, and encouragement of Learning and Religion*) be (as on an eaſie diſcuſſion it may be) found to be *of the Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World*; we are not only a little, but very much bound againſt it; for our God-fathers and God-mothers did promiſe in our behalf, *That we ſhould forſake them, as the Divel, and all his works*; and then he may well imagine, all ſober-minded

Chriſtians muſt judge, there is a vaſt difference between *Baptiſm* and ſuch *Epiſcopacy*; and that he is acted with a ſtrong zeal, that will by our Baptiſm bind unto it, who yet declared it to be but a tradition, and univerſal obſervation.

Of the power of Ordination by Biſhops.

But he addes a Reaſon to enforce it, and that is, *Since both the power of ordaining Miniſters, and by them to conſecrate and celebrate both Sacraments, was ever derived from, and by Biſhops of the Church, as the chief Conſervators, Ciſterns, and Conduits of all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and Miniſterial Power, from the very Apoſtles the firſt Biſhops of the Church*, Acts 1, &c. But Sir, Is it determined and agreed on without controverſie, that the *Power of Ordination* was ever derived *by and from Biſhops* (in his ſence paternal Biſhops) above, and diſtinct from Presbyters? that ſo it muſt be concluded No Ordination by Biſhops, no Miniſter, no Conſecration or Celebration of either Sacrament: And ſo where theſe *Conſervators, Conduits, Ciſterns were never laid*, or have been any way cut off, Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and Miniſterial Power never came, or is removed, and quite gone; for without doubt this water muſt run in its own Pipes; were it not for that ſubordination and dependance of ordinary *Miniſters, Shepherds, and Rulers* unto, and upon the *Angels, Preſidents, and chief Fathers* of his Epiſcopal Authority he at after noteth; I ſhould by his adjunct *Chief*, have conceived that he would grant, *Some ſmall Pipes had run from the Apoſtles times in union with Chriſt our chief Biſhop, and derived Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and Miniſterial Power in the vacancy of his Biſhops*; which, if he deny, the Church of *Rome* will triumph in his Epiſcopal union with her; but the Reformed Churches can give him little thanks for this Church annihilating Notion.

Again, Is it clear that *Epiſcopal and Apoſtolical Miniſtry* is *idem ordo*, the ſame kind, diſtinct from that of *Paſtors and Teachers*? it muſt be imagined ſo to be, whil'ſt *Biſhops* only as *Biſhops*, lay ſo much claim to the *immediate ſucceſſion to the Apoſtles*: That the Apoſtles had an Epiſcopacy, we cannot deny; for we read of it in *Acts* 1. 20. Nor I think can it be reaſonably denied, that *the feeding-ruling Elders* at *Epheſus* were *Biſhops*; for ſo Saint *Paul* called them, as conſecrated by the Holy Ghoſt, *Acts* 20. 28. and *immediate ſucceſſors* to the

the Apoſtles; yet it is not evident that they were all *Angels*, *Preſidents*, *and chief Fathers*; and ſuch as ſet *Timothy* over them as their Biſhop, muſt needs deny them ſo to have been; and then Sir, ſome that wanted this paternal Authority, muſt be confeſſed *Ciſterns of Miniſterial Power, and Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and immediate ſucceſſors to the Apoſtles*, and ſo the Bond of Baptiſm binds to *Goſpel-Miniſters*, as the *explicite and preceptive inſtitution of Chriſt*; whil'ſt *Epiſcopal order* can claim no more but *tradition*; and that very diſputable; the Prelatical Divines of our Nation would not be thus tyed to the obſervation of the *Lords day*; nor I to the obſervation of *Eaſter*; yet both theſe (eſpecially the firſt) look as like an *immediate inſtitution of Chriſt, preceptive and explicite, or tacite and exemplary*, as any order or kind of Epiſcopacy he ſuggeſteth to be upheld by the Bond of Baptiſm.

As to what the Doctor addeth concerning the *ſignal and intolerable injuries offered to the perſons of ſuch excellent Biſhops as* England *lately had, and ſtill may have, and the abatement of the honour of this whole Church and its Miniſtry, &c.* I wiſh it may be conſidered, That the Covenant is not levelled againſt any *Real Excellency* in the Biſhops, but *an unwarrantable greatneſſe, power, and authority*, aſſumed by them, or attributed to them; which conferred an unfitting honour on the Church, and then the excluſion of it is no *injury*; and the mighty *abatement* thereof is a poſitive duty: I cannot think but that *learning*, and the *due honour of the Church*, may, and will be beſt encouraged by the vailing of that pompous, worldly ſtate, and wicked ſuperiority her Governours had obtained; the Churches *perſpicuity* ſeems not to me ſo neceſſary, that it muſt needs ſhine *in Lawn Sleeves*, and ſucceſſion of Biſhops of *Paternal Authority* over their Brethren; nor know I to what Churches, ſave thoſe of *Rome* (who make the ſucceſſion of their Biſhops the ſole and ſingular Note of the true Church) a ſuperſedeas of ſuch Epiſcopal order) how ancient or venerable ſoever it be deemed) can be ſo ſcandalous as is ſuggeſted; I am ſure few of the Reformed Churches ſee cauſe ſo to judge it; and then Sir, we find little force in this his complicated Anſwer.

Thus Sir, I have made bold to conſider the Doctors *indirect Anſwer and Arguments*, wherein he endeavoureth to ſhake and

 ſubvert

ſubvert the whole Fabrick of the *Solemn League and Covenant*; and in them (to my judgement) there is ſo little ſtrength of Reaſon, or true Religion, that it affords but a poor ground for his inſulting and triumphant diſcharge in *page* 13. *Theſe things being thus premiſed, are ſufficient (as I conceive) to abate the Edge and Rigour of the Covenant, and to ravel that Cabel and Bond of Religious Obligation*: For Sir, notwithſtanding his ſuppoſal (aſſerted) *in good earneſt there is neither Law of God or man requiring, impoſing, or comprobating any ſuch Covenant*: The *Boanergeſſes* will find cauſe to thunder out terrour againſt *Covenant-breaking*, leſt *Rhetorical flouriſhes* without ſtrength of *Reaſons*, ſhould releaſe the conſciences of the Vulgar from the power of *Religious* Bonds.

His direct anſwer.

It may be Sir, we ſhall find more ſtrength in the Doctors down-right ſtroaks, than in his back-blows: His Batteries in his indirect Anſwers attempted, have beſpoken his purpoſe to break in ſunder the Sacred Bond of the Covenant: His power to effect it in point of Epiſcopacy, muſt appear in his direct Anſwer; wherein (we thank him) he looks on the Covenant *in the ſofteſt ſenſe* that can be made, as it is a *voluntary vow, or religious Bond, which private men ſpontaneouſly took upon themſelves, &c.* But yet he ſuggeſteth it was taken by *very few, not one fourth part of the Nation now living*; *and thoſe few made to take it by the terrors of Priſon, Plunder, Sequeſtration, and the like wracks*: Unto which (before we obſerve his particular reconciling Anſwers, relating to the ſpecial point of Epiſcopacy) I propound to conſideration, that

The *paucity* of Covenanters *will not diſcharge its obligation*; be there never ſo *few*, I hope thoſe *few* may be free in aſſerting, and muſt be faithful in adhering to the Covenant; in which their confidence may be the greater, for that His moſt *Sacred Majeſty* comes in to make up the number.

But if the Doctor ſaw with my eyes, he would not ſuppoſe the number to be ſmall; if all *Tables* were as legible as thoſe of the *Lords and Commons*, I believe their number would be found many more than the fourth part of the Nation. But can any conſiderable obſerver take notice the Covenant was impoſed on and ſubmitted unto, by all ſorts and degrees of men, in all Counties, Cities, and Towns tendred (and ſince teſtified by their publick

publick ſubſcriptions) by the moſt Miniſters in the ſeveral Counties, unto their individual Congregations, and that under the ſucceſs of War, which uſually extendeth a Covenant unto all who come under its influence, and yet (without the ſuppoſal of a very great mortality) imagine, *not the fourth part of the Nation* to have taken the Covenant? The Doctor ſure judgeth by ſuch with whom he converſeth; and I eaſily believe they are not a fourth part of the Nation; yet methinks he himſelf being to be reckoned into the number, might well conjecture them to be more.

But again Sir, the *capacity* of the Covenanters is more conſiderable than *the number*; and will make it a queſtion well worth conſideration, Whether it be not obligatory to the whole Nation: When I conſider the Lords and Commons *in Parliament aſſembled*; and under that notion and capacity ſwearing the Covenant, as the collective body of the Nation, though not near *a fourth part in number*; I am apt to think it looks very like *a National Obligation*: For I know not how they can take pardons, if they may not make promiſes in our names; eſpecially when the aſſent of His *Moſt Sacred Majeſty* is made ſo legible by His Royal Subjection to the ſame Solemn League and Covenant. I am much miſtaken if the Oath of *Zedekiah and the Princes* (without popular delegates) did not bind the people of *Iſrael*: I hope the Doctor will be more wary, than to plunge the whole Kingdom into perjury: That there was any ſuch Logick as *Priſons, Plunder, and Sequeſtrations*, to enforce the Covenant, I am not well-pleaſed; I hope he had more fortitude than to ſuffer his Reaſon and Religion to be ſo captivated; he knoweth the *will cannot be compelled*; and I imagine he will not make *extortion by force*, any more than *fraud* abſolve the Obligation, and warrant the Receſſion or Violation of an Oath; he knows that Nature and Scripture do teach the contrary; whatever was *Cicero's* affection to him, he knows wherein he commends *Pomponius* the Tribune as to his extorted Oath; nor will a Caſuiſt deny, *Juramentum metu extortum*, to bind; greater *force* can beſiege none to the *making of an Oath*; nor greater *fury* from God follow any for *breaking the Oath* ſo forced, than that which befell *Zedekiah* to the King of *Babylon*.

But

But let us ſee by what ſtrength of Reaſon he worketh our releaſe from this *voluntary vow*, that we alſo may be free-men; and it is produced by ſeveral ſuggeſtions; whereof

Words in Oaths do bind.

The firſt is a clear ſophiſm or charm to vulgar conception; *they are not* (ſaith he) *the bare words of the Covenant, which as charmes, can bind any mans conſcience to, or againſt any thing:* It is very true; for they may be Hiſtorically read, or repeated by ſuch who are not capable of, or concerned in the obligation: But Sir, if (as in our caſe) the words be uttered as expreſſions of the mind, and declarations of the purpoſe and reſolve of the heart to engage God and men to expectation of performance, I hope they then bind; and that, not only becauſe the matter is *juſt, true, and good*; but alſo becauſe *declared*: Is not Engagement of expectation in others unto the Obligation of our ſelves *the end of ſpeech* in Promiſes and Oaths? whence elſe is that Caution of Caſuiſts, That *the words of an Oath be plain, and clear, and commonly* uſed and underſtood, that the fallacy thereof may fall? I wonder at the Doctors Antitheſis of *words* unto *Reaſon, Juſtice, Truth, Religion, and Duty*; which we deny not *morally and really to oblige men either by Gods general or particular precepts*; but yet I cannot believe them to be as *Iron, or Adamantine Bands, to chooſe good, and do it; to hate evil, and eſchew it, long before the Withs and Cords of mans combining or tying are put upon them by themſelves or others*: This ſounds in my ears like new Divinity, and Morality too; oh the folly of Nations, who confide more in the Withs and Cords of *Words, Promiſes, Covenants*, than in the Iron and Adamantine Bonds of *Truth, Juſtice, and Duty*! I muſt confeſs, I was ſo fooliſh, as to fancy my ſelf bound to an Act, becauſe *good, juſt, true, duty*; but much faſter bound, becauſe *promiſed, or ſworn*; and I have known many men boggle at an Oath or Promiſe, and fear to break it, who would make no bones of *Reaſon, Truth, Juſtice, Duty*, but ſnap them in ſunder like a ſingle tie; and methinks the Scripture placeth a great deal of ſtrength in the words of a Vow or Oath, *Deut.* 23. 23. *That which is gone out of thy lips thou ſhalt keep and perform, as thou haſt vowed it willingly unto the Lord thy God; for thou haſt ſpoken it with thy mouth*: And ſure there was moſt *Adamantine* ſtrength in the words of *Jephtah*, which put him into

into that agony, and conſtrained that out-cry, *I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and cannot go back?* Judges 11. 35. If Oaths and Promiſes are but *Withs and Cords*, I marvel at the courſe and cuſtoms of Nations to lay them each on other, as the only grounds of confidence; and I much more wonder, mens faith ſhould be more fixed in Gods promiſes, than properties; and God, though under the *Iron bonds* of his own mercy, juſtice, truth; yet, for aſſurance ſake, ſhould bring himſelf under the *withs and cords* of Promiſe and Oath, and then tell us *by two immutable things wherein it is impoſſible God ſhould lye; we ſhould have ſtrong conſolation*, Heb. 6. 18.

His ſecond Suggeſtion is to me no leſs ſtrange than the firſt; (*viz.*) *Nor can any ſuch Covenant bind any man in any conſcientious bond, meerly by the power of a mans own imagination:* I am ſure it can never bind him by the power of another mans imagination: Oaths ought to be in words ſignificant, whoſe ſence may be obvious to every common capacity; ſhuffling and ſhifting the ſence, and ſignification of an Oath, is the ſnare and perplexity of Conſcience, policy of Hell, and Sophiſtry of the Divel: Men muſt be careful to underſtand every Religious Tie and Bond; and not *liſt to conceive by prejudice and preſumption*; yet if his own imagination be not that which muſt guide and bind him, I am miſtaken; I expect men to ſee with their own eyes, and be ſaved by their own faith; and did ever conceive diſcourſe, interpretation, inſtruction, and argumentation, to intend, not a *Magiſterial Impoſition*, but information of the mind, which might engender a right imagination for men to follow. I know not Sir, what your Caſuiſt may make of an *Erroneous Conſcience*; but Dr. *Ames* hath taught us, *Conſcientia quamvis errans, ſemper ligat; & ille peccat qui agit contra Conſcientiam*; an erroneous Conſcience doth alwayes bind, ſo that he ſins, who acts contrary thereunto; which cannot be, unleſs the Covenant bind by the power of a mans own imagination.

Every mans Oath binds by his own imagination.

His third Anſwer I do confeſs is drawn with ſome conſiderable ſtrength; for *no Covenant can bind us to the injury of anothers Right, Liberty, Power, or lawful Authority, private or publick*; except ſuch as are *ſui juris*, involved in himſelf; and ſo *per accidens*, are hindred, and hurt in and by them, which I believe.

Oaths bind not to the injury of another

believe he underſtands: but Sir, it loſeth its ſtrength in the *aſſumption*; for it appears not that the *extirpation of Prelacy* as it is expreſſed in the Covenant, doth take away the *liberty, power, and lawfull authority of King, Biſhops, or Parliament*; himſelf tells us, the Covenant was levelled againſt the *deſpoticum tyrannicum Regimen*; and I have before noted, that it is the *unwarrantable pomp and power, and unlawful authority, and ſuperiority* of the Biſhops above other Miniſters, which is excluded, and to be extirpated by the *Covenant*; untill the *Object* is agreed on, the force of this Argument may well fall.

Yet give me leave to tell the Doctor, it is worth his enquiry, whether the power of the King for *reſtitution*, and of the Biſhops for *execution and adminiſtration* of Epiſcopacie (lately acted in *England*, and novv endeavoured to be reſtored) be not fully, and actually, by a juſt, lawfull, and compleat Authority, *aboliſhed* and taken away by the ſtatute of 17 *Caroli*, repealing *that whole branch* of the ſtatute *primo Elizabethæ*, which authorized the juriſdiction of Epiſcopacy; and barreth his moſt *ſacred Majeſty* from giving Commiſſions thereunto, and forbidding all Ranks and Orders Eccleſiaſtical from acting upon any ſuch Commiſſion, in any matter or thing whatſoever: Sir, moſt men think that this power was lawful, and the Hierarchy of *England* was *ſui juris* to, and within the power of *King, Lords, and Commons*; and this diſcharge of Epiſcopacy to have been no injury, and to have been acted long before the Covenant did exiſt; and ſo the Covenant was but an enforcement of this Law; and then Sir, if there be *a Parliament which may look upon Biſhops and Epiſcopacy with a more propitious eye, than thoſe who beheld it through the Presbyterian ſpectacles*, it will be worth enquiry, whether the Covenant (as is before noted) be not *a National Covenant*, and bindeth not the Parliament from propounding, and praying, and his moſt ſacred Majeſty from aſſenting unto the re-eſtabliſhment thereof? and ſo whether the preſent actings of ſome *Biſhops and Deans* be not without Legal and juſt authority; and the impoſing or endeavouring to return that (by Statute) aboliſhed, and (by Covenant) excluded Fabrick, be not a tranſgreſſion of the Law, and plunging the Nation into perjury? which how conſiſtent it is with the honour of King or Kingdom, let wiſe men judge.

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The Doctors fourth, fifth, and eighth Suggestions do relate unto *the good of Episcopacie*; concerning which, he supposeth *a good*, which I must confess I am not clear to admit; as for that good in this, which is common to all Governments (*viz.*) *the Principles and proportions of Order, Subordination, and Government*, we shall not deny it, only conceive it is not here pleadable; for, it may be continued in the Government which shall be established; but *as to that of good in it, by Scriptural Precepts and Patterns in the Jewish Church, Apostolique constitution, and Primitive use of Ecclesiastical custome, and holy mens general approbation, and universal imitation*, it is under dispute, and not yet obvious, and so not of force to conclude for it; and as to *Englands experience of the much good done by it, since the Reformation*, it is very obscure, whil'st the best of benefit imaginable to have been reaped by it, hath been to preserve the *Reformation* in the state and degree in which King *Edward* the sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth* left it; for wherein hath Episcopacie promoted it? nay, rather wherein hath not Episcopacie (by *its silencing and suspending zealous Ministers, excommunicating, imprisoning, banishing, and stigmatizing pious Christians, for no fault at all save endeavouring it*) retarded the progress and perfection of the Reformation? nay, hath not Episcopacie (by *its turning our Chancels into railed insancta sanctorums, our Communion-tables into adored Altars, our glass windows into popish pictures, and changing our common and established Liturgy into a more compleat conformity to the Popish Mass-book for form of administration, Order of worship, Rites and Ceremonies*) brought the *Reformation* into a most palpable and apparent Retrogradation? and hath not then your Doctor cause to tell us *it were extream folly, and madness, prophaneness, and blasphemy to cry it down as evill, and engage in Covenant against it as such*? truly Sir, to all his supposed good whereby it is *so beneficial* (in his eye) *to the being, compleat and regular being of any Church, and none more than England, I shall only oppose that one evill*, for which (were there in it no more) it deserveth to be *decried, and extirpated by the Covenant*, and that *evill* I find so inherent to Episcopacy, that this very moderate man cannot divide them, (*viz.*) the not only *degrading* all ordinary Pastors and Ministers in the sight of the people (making their Ministery greatly ineffectual) but also *divesting* them of all authority, and superiority over the people, preferring the people *to, and above them, as their equals and superiours*; whereby all their administrations whil'st in *black Coats*, are represented to be meer *Cyphers*, to

The goodnesse of Episcopacy denied.

which the Bishops *Lawn sleeves* must be the only figure significant: Sir, can it be less than duty, to extirpate that which doth engross to its self, and so enervate in others, *all Gospel Ministery*? if *Cephas* and *Apollo* be no *Ministers of Jesus Christ*, as well as *Paul* the Apostle, I see no cause to chide the *Corinthians* for their Schisme; but passing his Hypothesis, let us try the strength of his Propositions by which he would bind the Covenanter to his Episcopacy, and they sound very strangely in my ears.

Oaths may binde against good indifferent.

1. *A Covenant can bind no man in conscience against any thing that is in its nature good, or not Morally evil, for this were to bind a mans self and others beyond Gods eternal righteousness*; this is unto me a lesson of new Divinity; for Sir, be pleased to note, that the good he speaks of is *natural*, not moral, much less Theological good; it is a *good* which is not in it self *necessary*, but may be necessary in *its time and place*; so that it is a plain *Adiaphoron*, a thing indifferent: that *to bind men to what is morally evil, is a Covenant of hell*, I can easily be convinced; but, that *to bind them against what is allowed of God as good and lawful* (but not duty necessary until circumstanced with time and place) should be so, is sure but one Doctors opinion. I did ever conceive *Adiaphorons* to be subject to the Magistrates command, and a mans own Covenant, and so distinct from Divine prescription; the eating of flesh is in its nature *good, and not morally evil*; the Apostle is apt to Covenant with a weak brother never to eat flesh; is this to *bind himself beyond Gods eternal bonds of righteousness, or in a Covenant with hell?* I mistake such Casuists as I have read, if they conclude not the contrary.

Oaths against evil binding the use of some good do bind.

2. *No man may vow or Covenant, much lesse keep any such Covenant as he hath taken intentionally against the evil, corruption or abuse of any thing, so as to involve the good and usefulness of it, and to condemn that to destruction and extirpation.* Truly Sir, I must confess not only *judicial* (such as is his instance of the Judge of all the earth in his righteous destribution towards *Sodom*, and so impertinent to his case) but also *rational*, and *Religious* discrimination of objects is good, and necessary, but that a Covenant involving *good and usefulness*, whilst it is intended against evil and abuse, is therefore *void, and not to be kept*, I cannot believe: I have read, *Juramentum non esse illicitum aut obligandi vim non amittere praecise ab hoc, quod videtur esse impeditivum majoris boni*, an oath is not therefore void, because it hinders a greater (that is, more than simple) good: I shall willingly wish men may not be so transported as to swear *against a good* when it can be separated from

Sand: de jurament. prælect. 3. S. 12.

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the evil; nor yet to *discharge the Oath*, because the good (which might have been divided) is involved: It is a mans *duty* to distinguish between the *Superstructures of men, and foundation of Christ and his Apostles* (of which order his Episcopacy doth not yet appeare:) And it is a mans *liberty* to restrain himself from the thing that is in its own nature good and useful, when attended with plain and positive, nay accidental evil. I knew a man passing through an old rotten house, got a knock on his pate, and in his passion, sware he would pull it down and burn it every stick; his work-men advised him to use some of the materials *good and useful* in his new fabrick; the good man is conscious of his Oath (though rash and unadvised) Will the Dr. please to resolve his conscience? Or again, *Hezekiah* observes the brazen serpent (the sometimes meanes and now Memorial of *Israels* remedy, and type of the Redeemer) abused to Idolatry, sweareth he will destroy it, and accordingly executes his Oath: Suppose it at that time (as it had its good) to be as useful as before, it will puzzle me to charge him with iniquity for so doing.

Thirdly, " *No man can in conscience be bound by any such Covenant against that which may upon second thoughts and after-view, and better information, appear to be good and useful to him; he is here bound nor to keep his Covenant in the latitude of his mistakes and presumptions, nor to act according to his prejudices and former supposals; but rather to retract his rashnesse and unadvisednesse in taking it at first, and to act according to his present evidence of what is true, just, good, lawful, and useful even in Episcopacy*, &c. Truly Sir, this is to me such strange divinity, that I cannot but wonder D.D. should be attendant on the assertor of it; I am sure if it be admitted, one reason produced by no mean Casuist to defend the Obligation of an Oath extorted by fear, must fall to the ground, *Elegit id quod tunc visum est sibi melius*, he *chose* that which he then *conceived to be the best*; but according to our Casuist, he might on an after-view discern *hurtful*, and so *retract*: how happy and cheering would such a resolution as this have been unto *Jephtah* in his anguish and out-cry, *I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and cannot go backe!* Why man, can you not on *second thoughts and an after view* see the goodnes and usefulnes of your daughter? Retract *the rashnesse and unadvisedness* of thy vow, and act according to thy present evidence. Nay, how advantagious had this resolution been to *Israel*, when *Joshuah* and the Princes preserved the *Gibeonites* to be *pricks in the eyes, and thornes in the side of Israel?* To what end do they plead, *we have sworne un-*

He that sweareth to his own hurt, is bound.

Sandr. de Juram. Lect. 4. Sect. 15.

to them by the Lord, now therefore we may not touch them? Why, muſt they needs act to the *latitude of their preſumptions and miſtakes?* could they not on *ſecond thoughts and after view* diſcover their craft, and diſcern them to be of the people commanded by God to be deſtroy'd, dangerous to diſturb their peace, and divert them from their Religion? How ſad was the fate of the ſons of *Saul* in the want of ſuch a *ſolution* as this which might have ſaved them all from hanging? for the Scripture witneſſeth, That *Saul ſlew the Gibeonites in his zeal to the children of Iſrael and Judah*, 2 Sam. 21. 2. Without doubt on *ſecond thoughts and an after view* of the good which might enſue on the violation of that Covenant caught by fraud, I hope our Prelates will take care in the next Impreſſion of the Common-Prayer-Book, to make the words in *Pſal.* 15. *ver.* 5. conform to *Pſal.* 105. *ver.* 28. it is but the expunction of a Negative particle, and for *diſobedient*, we read *obedient*; and for *repenteth not*, we read *repenteth*; and ſo the Character of a man for heaven ſhall be conform to our Caſuiſts reſolution and Scripture text, *He that ſweareth to his own hurt, and repenteth*: I cannot but commend the correction of this verſe to the Drs. care; for as it is now read, it is not only different from the Original, but alſo diſſonant to his doctrine whilſt it is read in the Old Common-Prayer Book, *He that ſweareth to his neighbour, and diſappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance.*

Thus Sir, I have tried the ſtrength of the Drs. Arguments, and find in them very little force to rectifie conſcience, releaſe St *Peter*, and reconcile the Covenant with Epiſcopacy. Truly Sir were Epiſcopacy in it ſelf never ſo good, yet it muſt appear neceſſary before it break through the bond of the Covenant: It is now indeed *high time to learn righteouſneſſe and wiſdom*; the which works not more in any thing, than *a conſcientious cleaving to the Covenant, and paying the vows made to God in the day of affliction*: I freely conſent with him, that *the cautious and conſcientious covenanter take a calmer view, and exacter meaſure than perhaps he did at the firſt.* But methinks he ſhould not leave them to rules of ſo great latitude, that will not only diſcharge the Covenant, but all Sacred Religious ties: What Oaths can bind if words are of no force, or but withs and cords? his own imagination of no influence? no good may be excluded or involved? and ſecond thoughts diſcovering uſefulneſſe will diſcharge it? where ſhall be the certainty of humane contracts or force of Religious bonds, if theſe principles be admitted? who ſhall ever ſcruple to make, or care to keep a Covenant, if other mens interpretations muſt direct it, and our own retraction of

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ſence of raſhneſſe, may diſcharge it? If Sir, theſe Propoſitions be the Doctors props for Epiſcopacy, it will appear too profane for pious men to meddle with.

Sir, I doubt not but he and all men ſhall find every conſcientious Covenanter enjoy the comfort of his *accompliſhed Oath*, when *in his place he hath ſeaſonably adviſed, humbly petitioned, and lawfully endeavoured*, to remove *Englands* old Hierarchy; and to reſtore ſuch an Epiſcopacy, to be exerciſed by the Officers of the Church in Common, and good order, as is neareſt the Scripture, Primitive practice and perſwaſion of ſober, grave, pious, and learned men, ſuch as was the late Primate of *Armah*, but if either His *Moſt Sacred Majeſty*, or any other in Authority fail in the exerciſe of their capacity (as the late perfidious *Rump* in their traiterous and uncharitable Declaration of *September* 20. 1650. maliciouſly ſuggeſted, he would, and as he ſeems to hope) to effect the ends of the Covenant, I hope it ſhall be no offence to mourn for their iniquity, and the iniquity of the Land; nor will it be inconſiſtent to that *humble ſubmiſſion*, active or paſſive, I confeſſe we all owe unto His Moſt Sacred Majeſty: whatever ſhall be the eſtabliſhment in the Church (though never ſo corrupt, yet) whilſt inconſiſtent with ſalvation, though it may occaſion to me *ſuffering, and a ſuſtenance of my Miniſtry*, by Gods grace it ſhall not effect in me, or ſuch on whom I have an influence, *Schiſm* from the Church, or *Reſiſtance* of his Majeſties juſt Right and Authority; for whom as I have not ſuffered the leaſt, ſo if God ſhould ſo far leave him (which God forbid) I am ready, by him to ſuffer the utmoſt, inadherence to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, until it be diſcovered *a band of iniquity, a ſnare and gin for Schiſm and Sedition to act by to the diſhonour of God, and reproach of Reformed Religion*: Yet I cannot but moſt heartily pray for *the honeſt and ingenuous Reformation of Epiſcopacy beyond the former defective or exceſſive Conſtitution or execution of it*; which I doubt not will effect the corruption and extirpation covenanted.

I confeſſe every conſcientious Covenanter oweth this juſtice and duty.

1. To God, "*to approve, love, deſire, and uſe what is good*, not being within his own power, and excluded by his Oath or Covenant; may and muſt, are things very different.

2. "*To obey the King as chief Governour of Church and State*, "*enjoyning things lawful and honeſt* (ſo not Covenanted againſt) *though not the very beſt.*

3. To pity "*the Biſhops and Fathers of the Church who have* beene there

" there too injurious, *or injuriously used*, and pull down all proud Pre-
lates and paternal Authority over *Presbyters*, which abuse their bre-
thren, and debase their Ministry, because in a black coat.

4. To encourage Ministers, and endeavour the rescue *of them from dividing Factions and popular insolencies* which have befallen them *for want of the King*, and Ecclesiastical Order, but may be enjoyed with-
out a Bishop advanced in power above his Brethren.

5. Love *to the Church in endeavouring its unity, peace, and prosperity* in the ruine of Prelacy and establishment of an *Episcopacy* and over-
sight duly constituted and carefully executed.

6. Care *to his own soul, inward and eternal peace, not to be cozened by glosses* courted by Rhetorical florishes nor cudgel'd out of his Covenant by most bitter sufferings, but to cleave unto it with care, constancy, and diligence, and take heed of all sophistical solutions, and subtle recon-
ciliations, which endeavour to baffle the Covenant, and break in pie-
ces the very power of Religious bonds.

Sir, *Knowing how tender and delicate a thing Conscience is*, yet fear-
ing it *might* be baffled and *deluded by Sophistry* undiscovered; I have presumed to surveigh your Doctors *Solution of the Covenant*, and give an account of my apprehensions of it; Covenant-breaking is so dire-
ful *a God-provoking* sin, that I tremble to think of *Englands* least ten-
dency to it; whatever men fancie to themselves of the Covenant being *the rock of his late Majesties shipwrack*, it is visible that the *violation* of it hath been the *destruction* of our late *Usurpers*, who laid it aside that they might leap into their Chair of State: and it cannot be denied to have been the chief and *only means* of his Majesties most just and hono-
rable Restitution; and an adherency to it (I doubt not) will prove the establishment of his Royal throne; I cannot therefore but be grie-
ved to finde contempt poured on the Covenant, not only by the vul-
gar, but such whose ranck and gravity should make them more sensi-
ble of the weight and worth of an Oath.

When Sir your Doctors *Solution* came first into my hands, the Speech of *Julian* Cardinal of Saint *Angelo* concerning the *League* of *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary* with *Amurath* the Turk, came into my memory; and one observation seems too much alike unto it (I pray you pardon the comparison) the pretended principle of the one was *Zeale for the Church, and love of Religion*, and so of the other: the scope of the one was to *discharge the Oath*, and so of the other: the me-
thod of the one was to absolve *by colour and pretence of binding under the Oath*; so of the other: the Arguments of the one were *defect of an-*

History of the Turks, p. 290, 291, 292.

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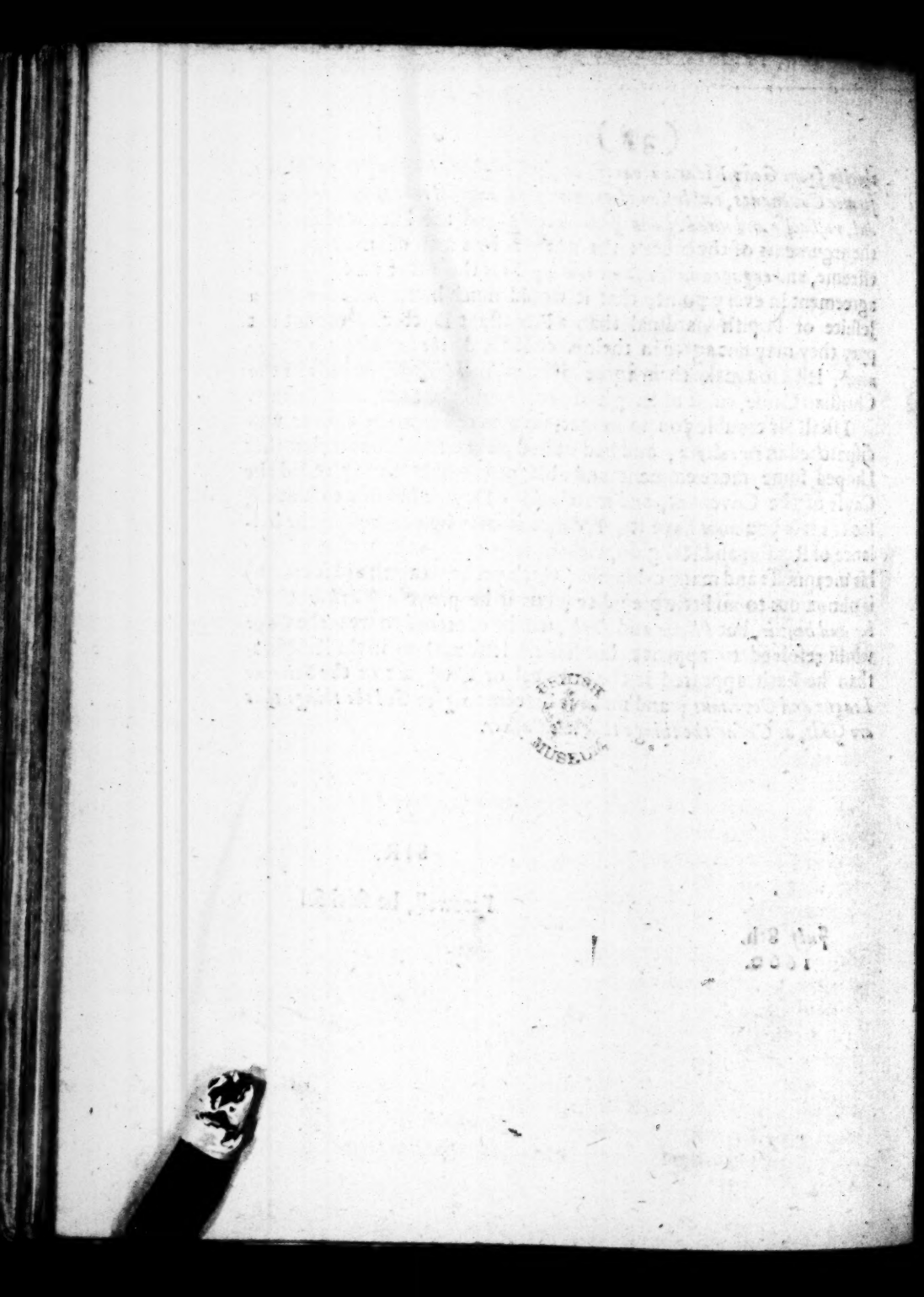
thority from Gods Vicar on earth, conſent of Confederates, contrariety to former Covenants, excluſion of greater good, expoſal to reproach and ſcandal, raſhneſſe and unadviſedneſſe in making, and the like; and ſuch are the arguments of the other: the one was by a man of eminency, and eſteeme, and *engaged in the ſame Oath*; ſo is the other: ſuch is Sir the agreement in every point, that it would much better have become a Jeſuite or Popiſh Cardinal than a Proteſtant Doctor. I cannot but pray they may not agree in their intended end, *the breach of the Covenant*; leſt God make them agree in the *miſerable effect*, the loſſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe, ruine of King and people, and their perpetual infamy.

I ſhall Sir trouble you no longer, ſave to tell you this anſwer was diſpatched in *two dayes*; and had waited on you much ſooner, but that I hoped ſome more eminent and able pen would have pleaded the Cauſe of the Covenant, and matched the Doctor ſuitably to himſelf; ſuch as it is you now have it; I deſire it may be weighed in the ballance of Reaſon and Religion, without reſpect unto the perſon; who by his meanneſſe and many calumnies (which yet he weareth as his crown) is obnoxious to no little prejudice; but if he prove *a Taylors Gooſe, hot and heavie*, but *blinde* and *dark*, will be contened to wear the Cap: whilſt reſolved to approve himſelf no leſſe zealous in the Religious than he hath appeared in the Political or Civil part of the *Solemne League and Covenant*; and make it his care to *give God the things that are Gods, as Cæſar the things that are Cæſars.*

SIR,

Farewell, be faithful

July 8th.
1660.



AN EXPEDIENT

For Taking away all

IMPOSITIONS,

AND

For Raiſing a *REVENUE* without

TAXES.

HUMBLY PRESENTED

His moſt Excellent MAJESTY

King Charles the II.

By *Francis Cradocke* Merchant.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Seile*, Stationer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.
1660.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty:

HOw *unfit and unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to appear in a work of this nature, mine own Reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me: And notwithſtanding Opinion better than Truth can travel the world without a Paſport, where there are as many internal forms of Minds, as external figures of Men; yet my hopes are, that by publiſhing the honour done by* Your Royal *Peruſal to the Manuſcript, before it ſaw the Preſſe, and recommending the ſame to* Your Majeſties *moſt honourable Privy Council, this may obtain the favour of their Debate, and receive the better common acceptation.*

I have had it under my conſideration about four years, (and thought it a jewel un-

fit to caſt before ſuch Governours :) What eſteem it will receive by others I cannot promiſe to my ſelf, my ambition in it is to ſerve my Sovereign Lord and Countrey, whereunto I am more obliged than many others, in that Your Majeſty *hath dealt ſo bountifully by,*

Dread Sovereign,

Your Majeſties

Moſt thankful Subject

and Servant,

FRAN. CRADOCKE.

AN EXPEDIENT

For taking away all Impoſitions, and raiſing a Revenue without TAXES,

By Erecting Bankes for the Encouragement of TRADE.

I Expect ſo little credit will be given the Title, that, ſhould I be large on the Subject, I queſtion whether it would be eſteemed worth peruſal: And having propounded ſo great advantage by erecting Banks, I conceive it proper firſt to give You ſome hints of the nature of them.

A Banke is a certain number of ſufficient men of Credit and Eſtates joyned together in a ſtock, as it were for keeping ſeveral mens Caſh in one Treaſury, and letting out imaginary money at Intereſt, for 3. or more in the hundred *per annum*, to Trades-men or others, that agree with them for the ſame, and making payment thereof by Aſſignation, paſſing each mans Accompt from one to another, yet paying little money: Inſomuch, that if a Merchant or other perſon want money, if he hath or can procure credit in Banke, he may make as good payment by Aſſignment in Banke without it: As for Example, the ſaid Merchant buyes Cloth of a Clothier for 100 *l.* value more or leſs, and goes with him to the Banke, where he is Debtor for ſo much as he takes up, and the Clothier is made Creditor for ſo much as he ſold his Goods for to the ſaid Merchant: Then

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ſuch Clothier having occaſion to pay money to a Stapler or Wool-monger for wool bought, the ſaid Clothier is made Debitor, and the Wool-monger Creditor upon account, the ſaid Wool-monger buyes wool from a Countrey Farmer, for ſo much money more or leſs, ſo the Wool-monger is made Debtor and the Farmer Creditor; the Farmer muſt pay Rent to his Landlord, and is likewiſe made Debtor and his Landlord Creditor; the ſaid Landlord for his occaſions buyes goods of a Mercer, Grocer, Vintner, or the like, or from all, then he is made Debtor, and ſuch Mercer or other Trades-man Creditor; then peradventure ſuch Mercer or other Trades-man buyes goods from the ſame Merchant that took up the firſt credit in Banke, and ſtands yet Debtor there, but upon ſale of his goods to the Mercer or other Trades-man, both clears their accounts in Banke. And ſo in all Trades, as occaſion preſents.

Theſe Bankes in the ſeveral parts of *Europe* where erected, being ſo held by Merchants and others, joyned together in a ſtock, and credited by the monies brought in thereunto (which money for the moſt part there remaining, and payments being made upon the credit thereof by aſſignment in Banke as aforeſaid) might as well be done here onely upon the credits of Landed men, whereof they have few in *Holland*, and in other parts, lying convenient for Trade; where Land is, the Owners thereof are ſeldome found to be Merchants: So that *England* (if but ſenſible of it) hath an advantage of all parts in the world, as lying in the centre of the Trade of *Europe*, enjoying ſafe and commodious Harbours, wanting few neceſſaries, no Lands nor perſons naturally inclined to Trade, if not diſcouraged by great Cuſtomes, Exciſe, and the abuſes in Collecting it, and by the want of ſtock, or a ſupply thereof at reaſonable Intereſt.

To free *England* of theſe inconveniencies, and ſupply it with a ſtock for Trade, as great as ſhall be requiſite, without bringing in more *Bullion*, it may be done three manner of wayes, never yet practiſed in *Europe*, and the whole profits thereof (which will be conſiderable) be alſo converted to His Majeſties Revenue for defraying the publique charge of his Kingdom, in caſe His Majeſty and Parliament ſhall think fit to erect either

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of theſe following kind of Bankes, for the accommodation of Trade, in the moſt proper places of *England*; aſſigning to each a proportionable diviſion of the Countrey adjoyning, where all mens Eſtates in lands, houſes or rents, either for Leaſe of years, Lives or in Fee, may be regiſtred; as alſo all morgages, claims or other intereſts pretended thereunto, with morgages or purchaſes at any time to be made thereupon.

This may be done, ſo as all fraudulent Conveyances may be pretended, and yet no mans Eſtate be diſcovered more than at preſent: For if the propriety be found to be in *A* by the Regiſter, its no matter though *B* be the true proprietor, for then *A* can wrong none but *B*, who hath intruſted him; or if *B* be doubtful to truſt *A*, and yet deſire to conceal his Eſtate, which he cannot well do without him, *B* himſelf may own the Eſtate, and allow *A* to enter a Morgage to (or near) the value, and take his defeizance for the ſame: ſo that in this caſe *A* cannot cheat *B* if he would, nor either of them any other, though both ſhould combine therein.

That the ſaid places for Bankes being eſtabliſhed, Eſtates regiſtred, and a Survey taken of ſuch Eſtates, whereby the value may not be entred above its real worth. Any perſons may be admitted to have credit in Banke, for any ſumme ſafely to be lent under the value of his Eſtate, without other ſecurity or ceremony of Conveyances, than the hand and conſent of ſuch perſon as is the proprietor, he paying Intereſt for the ſame at 4. *per cent. per ann.* quarterly into the ſaid Office.

This Survey may be taken by a Jury in every Pariſh, and delivered to the Sheriff of the County, or at the Banke upon Oath, and will be done with a ſmall charge to His Majeſty, and in little time.

Firſt then, to effect the end aforeſaid, it may be done without money, by a Law enjoyning all payments to be made in Banke of any ſumme above 20 *l.* ſterling, for all lands, goods and merchandizes ſold whatſoever, which is done voluntary in other parts, where Bankes are erected by almoſt all perſons, who find both eaſe and accommodation thereby, and the Bankes here (like thoſe in forreign parts) will be and ſerve as a general or National Caſhkeeper of all mens moneys and accounts, transferring them from one perſon and Countrey to another with much facility, not onely preventing the danger of Robbery, but the trouble of counting, and loſs in receiving clipt and bad money, which is the cauſe that payments made in Banke are generally eſteemed better than *in ſpecie* by ten ſhillings in an hundred

dred pound; which would have the like eſteem in *England*, were Bankes once erected.

At firſt erecting Bankes in Holland, all local payments were enjoyned to be made in this manner, but the eaſe and accommodation being found thereby, it became a moſt voluntary act, as it doth at this day continue, to the great enriching that Countrey.

The ſecond Expedient is, without any Impoſition, leaving all perſons free to take or make payment, either in Banke, or by money *in ſpecie*; which will, I preſume, bring in the ſame advantage to His Majeſties Revenue; but not properly be erected without two millions of money; but if once ſetled would out of the ſame produce a million *per annum* profit, and ſtand alwayes as a conſtant increaſing Revenue: For, by computation there is yearly paid in *England* for Intereſt Bottomree, and other kinds of Uſury, two millions; for which ſhould all Uſurers call in their principal, it would amount unto thirty five millions; when there hath been but twenty two millions coyned in *England* in and ſince the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixt, both in Gold and Silver, which, I preſume, is at leaſt one half exported, whorded up, or melted down; and allowing the Uſurous propriety to be the moyetie in all Coyn paſſing from one hand to another, it muſt neceſſarily follow, that all the ſaid great Revenue is brought into them by five millions and an half real ſterling money; which is no Paradox, conſidering that all monies, though paſſing but through the hands of Uſurers, doth yield to each of them the full yearly Intereſt; which may be done for one and the ſame ſumme of monies ten times in twelve moneths; moreover by the money brought into Banke, (which under the ſetled Government of ſo hopeful a Prince will be undoubtedly moſt that ſhall be imployed in Trade) why may not His Majeſty make a profit thereof as well as the States of *Holland*, which doth let out the ſame at Intereſt, as they have done great ſummes in *England*, and yet ſupport a much greater Bank without Land upon their credits onely, it being generally conceived that they have not at any time in ready Caſh the tenth part of what the Banke ſtands Debtor for to private perſons, although they abound in money for want of Land to purchaſe.

The two Millions herein mentioned, is intended for the payment of all ſuch as deſire their money out of Banke, for its preſum'd ſuch there will be, and ſuch a Banke as this muſt have money alwayes ready, for the being punctual in payment will ſo credit the Banke, that moſt will keep their Caſh therein for their own advantage.

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The third is such a Bank as may convenſently be erected both of money and credit with a leſs ſumme, ſetting Intereſt at ſuch differing rates, as in time may invite all men to eſteem credit as good as money, which is accounted better in forreign parts, as in truth it is, though ſeemingly otherwiſe; which diſparity will be at all times reconciled by an Exchange or kind of Brokerage, like that of Plate and Black-money, where currant; which ſeveral kinds of Bankes having no Preſident, I ſhall not preſume to prefer either as moſt proper, but ſubmit them all with confidence, that the worſt of them will prove of great uſe and advantage to *England*, if once erected.

In this way the Banke will not be prejudiced for want of money, but be ſupplied with Bills, which may by a Sovereign ſtamp be allowed to paſs in a City or County inſtead of money, and be returned within a year, ſo that by ſetting a lower Intereſt thereon, will cauſe it to be equal in eſteem with real money.

That all Merchants that have no Eſtates real in Lands or Leaſes as aforeſaid, may alſo have credit in Banke, upon depoſiting any Goods (not periſhable) of an equivalent value in his Majeſties Ware-houſe, in every Port or other place where ſuch Bank ſhall be erected; and that any perſon having monies in Caſh or in Bank in one place, deſiring to have it transferred for his accommodation, and to have it again either in Caſh or in Banke in another, may be accommodated, allowing onely 10 *s.* for every hundred pounds ſo exchanged or remitted.

That every the aforeſaid Bankes may furniſh another petty Banke (or Mount) of Charity with a competent ſtock, to lend any ſumme under ten pounds upon Pawns at a reaſonable Intereſt, for the accommodation of poor people, and others deſiring the ſame. And that the perſons put in to govern in theſe Banks may have the management of all other publick receipts within their ſeveral diſtricts, which will leſſen the publick charge: And if ſuch Banks are found to be advantageous, others may be alſo erected in *Scotland* and *Ireland* in like manner, for the accommodation of thoſe there reſident, as well as others living in *England* and trading thither.

The foundation of theſe Banks being Land, will be eſteemed (as in truth they are) the moſt ſecure in *Europe*, for that every Creditor will be ſure of land in caſe the Bank ſhould fail of money, and neither His Majeſty nor Officer will be intruſted, but the Eſtate of one man Debtor to another.

The advantages which either of theſe Bankes by an ingenious management will bring into his Majeſties Revenue.

By the help of theſe Banks his Majeſty or Kingdom ſhall have credit at any time (wanting monies) either in *England* or in forreign parts, for a million, without engaging private perſons for the ſame.

It will adde to the reputation and honour of this Kingdom, and render it more in eſteem with forreign States and Princes, by ſo much as the Trade and wealth of *England* will thereby increaſe, and conſequently the ſtrength at Sea by the many ſhips which will be more imployed.

It will bring into his Majeſties Revenue all the Intereſt money paid in *England*, and money paid on Bottomree to Scriveners and others, which at 6 *per cent.* amounts unto by computation yearly two millions; and when to be had at 4 *per cent.* will be one million three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds *per ann.*

It will alſo bring in a profit by the perſons that now deal for time, who will then get credit in Banke, and pay ready money for their Commodities, which by computation are now bought upon credit to the value of five millions yearly, the Intereſt whereof at 4 *per cent.* will amount unto two hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.*

Moreover, all Merchants that uſually keep unvendible goods by them, as a dead ſtock upon their hands, will take up credit in Banke thereupon for continuing their Trade, of which goods there is by a like computation at all times remaining as a Drug on the hands of Merchants the value of four millions, which at 4 *per cent.* is one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds *per ann.*

Alſo when there is a certain conveyance by Exchange of money (or by imaginary money) from one place to another at ſo eaſie a rate as 10 *s.* for an hundred pounds, no perſon will then adventure to carry any ſumme conſiderable, though but a dayes journy, conſidering the having it in Banke will be eſteemed worth ſo much in the hundred, the profit of which remittances cannot amount unto leſſe yearly than thirty thouſand pounds.

By the petty Bankes to be erected, when money will be had at eaſie

eaſie rates, and without charge or trouble of Bonds and perſonal ſecurity, the numerous (though ſmall ſummes) to be taken up, will, I preſume, yeeld profit to Bank ten thouſand pounds *per ann.*

The Revenue eſtimated that this will bring in to His Majeſties Revenue is one million ſeven hundred and thirty thouſand pounds *per ann.* which will not coſt in managing twenty thouſand pound *per ann.* which is four times as much as is made of Cuſtoms and Exciſe of goods brought into and exported from *England*: Beſides this Kingdom will ſo flouriſh under a free Trade, that it will ſoon become the Mart or Emporium of *Europe* for all forreign commerce. And this Revenue being ſupported by Trade, and a ſupporter of Trades will by an ingenious management accordingly be improved.

The benefit to the Subjects.

By regiſtering all Eſtates, every mans title will appear in reallity what it is, and many controverſies and ſuits in Law be prevented.

It will very much advance the price of Land, and preſerve many Families from being ruined by the extortion of Uſurers, and yet make the Uſurers gainers alſo.

The Nation may by degrees (as the Revenue doth increaſe) be eaſed of all Taxes, at leaſt Exciſe may forthwith be taken away from all Forreign goods, and Cuſtom alſo where it is found a burthen on Trade, if this Revenue (or profit of theſe Bankes) doth amount unto but the one ſixt part of the ſummes eſtimated; ſo that *England* will flouriſh under a free Trade, to the encouragement of Merchandizing, the building of Shipping, and ſupport of Navigation.

By the benefits of Bankes moſt ingenious men will be furniſhed with ſtock to trade at ſmall Intereſt, and honeſt and able men be ſupported in their credits.

It will make Engliſh Merchants capable to engroſs the commodities of another Countrey, and withhold it from others, as the Dutch do at preſent from us by the help of their Bankes.

It will procure Engliſh Merchants credit in forein parts, or in forreign Bankes to buy any commodity there without money,

as well or better than with money, and upon as good terms as the Hollander or any others.

By taking away the duties from forreign Goods brought into *England*, we may (by a prudent management) get the Duties taken off from *Engliſh* Manufactures in forreign parts, and by that means under-ſell all others, which the Hollander will not be able to prevent nor obtain themſelves.

It will in fine increaſe Trade, Trade will increaſe wealth, wealth and Trade will encourage our native manufacture, and all will imploy the poor, and I doubt not but in few years it will make *England* the Staple of Commerce, as *Holland* is at preſent.

I have not given ſo plain a demonſtration, nor reaſons on the particulars of either of theſe Banks, as the ſubject indeed more proper for debate, and ſufficient for a large Volume, requires; neither have I ſpoken any thing in defence of the many Objections which may ſeem to ariſe and Eclipſe the utility thereof, preſuming that no rational perſon will prejudge therein, till I have had command to anſwer his Objections, which I doubt not but to be ſatisfactory in, humbly conceiving that what I have in ſhort hinted at, will be underſtood and amplified by the more ingenuous: I ſhall therefore conclude it with ſaying, that were this manner of Banking practicable in *Holland*, or that if the Hollander were poſſeſſed of *England*, they would by this means ſoon become Maſters of all the Trade in the World.

Other neceſſary heads to be conſidered for the encreaſe of Trade, and encouragement of Navigation.

I preſume, none will deny but that Trade ought to be conſidered, as well with reſpect had to publick as private intereſt; and therefore, I hope I ſhall be held excuſed for my Opinion, in holding that Forraigners ought to have the like priviledges with Natives, both Trading in Engliſh ſhipping, which I conceive to be the beſt Expedient to make the Exports of *England*, exceed the Imports, without which this Kingdom cannot be richer then it is, and ſince every particular will in ſome meaſure be concerned within the general good of Trade, I ſhall preſume to hint how far, (and with what reſtraint) it ought to be encouraged.

Firſt,

First, for Exportation of our native Commodities, such as Lead, Tin, Wax, &c. of little or no workmanship; *England* cannot be too liberal in, nor grant too many immunities and priviledges, (though to her very Enemies) that may encourage the sending out of all Manufactures perfectly wrought up and Fabricated: regard being had to Wools, Timber and Leather, which in no respects ought to be Exported.

Secondly, for Importing of forraign Goods, such as Linnen, Sugars, Raw-silk, &c. which we stand in need of. It ought not neither to be discouraged by Impositions, though otherwise it be proper, to lay convenient duties on such Commodities Imported, as obstruct the sale of our own Manufactures; whereby to hold a Ballance in Trade without prohibiting forraign Goods, which if we once do, other Nations will do the like by us; and so obstruct our Trade in General.

Thirdly, for Transportation of such forraign Commodities, as are first Imported, (if done in English shipping) it will prove a great help to the over-Ballance of Trade, and therefore ought to have the like due encouragement with a reasonable respect shewn to forraign Vessels, though not equal to our own.

In all which three respects, *England* might have advantage of all the World, and by industry (under good Lawes) soon become the Mart of *Europe*, by reason of its scituation surrounded by the Sea; the safeness of her harbours and superfluities of sundry Commodities which other Nations stand in need of, which would be the sooner effected, were these ten particulars observed, there being many others also worthy, which I omit at present.

1. By Imposing all duties to be paid alike, upon all Goods, by all persons, the difference to be only upon Commodities Imported or Exported in forraign Bottoms, (*viz.*) ships not built in *England*, and sailed by English Mariners.

2. By permitting all people of forraign Nations to Live, Purchase and Trade freely amongst us, whereby most of them will soon become profitable Natives, and bestow their wealth brought hither or here gotten, in Lands for their posterity; which the present Lawes of *England* compels them to Export, to the great inriching of forraign parts, and impoverishing of this Nation.

3. By

3. By using all waies of encouragement to advance the Fishing imployment, and His Majesties assuming His Prerogative of being Lord of the *British* Ocean, which by the most ancient prescription ever belonged as Rightly due to the Kings of *England*; so that by prohibiting others to Fish on our Coast, and improving the same to this Nation, it will soon become of more worth to *England*, then the *West Indies* are to the Kingdom of *Spain*.

4. By encouraging new Manufactures and profitable inventions with due rewards and priviledges, which will bring artificers from forraign parts, and in time (by industry) make all Arts common amongst us; wherein we come much short of other Countries, to the disadvantage of our own.

5. By erecting a standing Committee of Trade, whose correspondencie should reach over all Trading parts of the World; the effect whereof will not only inable them the better to contain the improvement of Trade here: but also to prevent many inconveniences that have late fallen on *England* by the undermining actings of forraign Nations, who have robbed us both of our Money and Trade, for want of a timely remedy.

6. By Constituting a Court of Merchants, where all Merchants and Merchant-like causes and differences may be Summarily decided.

7. By using meanes to encrease the general stock of *England*, either in raising the value of money for incouraging it to be Imported, (which I will not much commend) but rather do incourage the supplying it imaginary upon the Credit of Lands, to passe in payment by assignment in Bank as aforesaid, one of which is absolutely necessary in order to the increase of Trade in this Kingdom.

8. By taking away Excise from all Imported Goods, or at least forthwith to produce the same under the management of the customs (whereby to take off the superfluous number of offences,) it being but a small advance to the revenue, and an intollerable burthen on Trade, in the way its now managed.

9. By lightning the duty of customs, especially on Goods Exported and Manufactured here in *England*, and so regulating the Book of Rates made for payment thereof; that in few or

no

no particulars the Rates exceed what is paid for the like Commodities in *Holland*.

10. By granting a free Tranſportation of forraign Commodities with little or no cuſtoms detained for the ſame, whereby Goods here Imported may go out without being loaded with impoſitions, and find a market in forraign parts to the ſame advantage, which will make *England* the Magazen or ſtore-houſe of *Europe*.

Each of theſe ten particulars deſerves to be more amply ſet forth, but I have been ſhort in this as in the former, ſubmitting it alſo to the ingenious Reader to Paraphraſe thereon, taking only to ſet forth how much the putting them in uſe will decreaſe the Revenue.

There being nothing in this whole diſcourſe that reflects on the Revenue, but the taking away Exciſe from forraign Goods uſually amounting to 175000l. *per annum*, and the granting a free Tranſportation thereof, 19000l. *per annum*, which is in all 194000l. *per annum*, which doth coſt in managing 35000l. *per annum*, ſo the real decreaſe is but 159000l. yearly, which I am bold to affirm puts the whole Nation to as much Charge, by the trouble and other inconveniences of keeping a greater number of ſervants to attend the ſeveral Offices; the fetching of Tickets, and the interruption of the (too many) Exciſe Officers in the improper manner its now collected, which ſumme ſo expended would be otherwiſe imployed in Trade; and His Majeſty, I preſume, might have as much advantage by a reaſonable Cuſtom out of the returns made thereof, which would be then really paid, for that none will hazard their Goods, but all make due entries; ſo that the continuing thoſe Duties fills the Cheſts in the Exchequer, as water doth a veſſel, being poured in at the Specket whilſt it runs out at the Bung.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have late published some few lines, touching regulating the Custom and Excise, wherein I did set forth that two hundred thousand pounds per annum, *hath for many yeares been visibly lost for want of a better method in the collecting thereof: I presume to say, I can give a plain demonstration wherein its lost, and how it may be remedied. It is also proper for the consideration of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsel, unto whom I most humbly submit, &c.*

FINIS.

AN ANSWER OF HUMPHREY CHAMBERS, D. D. Rector of PEWSEY, in the County OF WILTS,

To the CHARGE of WALTER BVSHNEL, Vicar of BOX, in the same County.

Published in a Book of his entituled; A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by O. Cromwel for ejecting scandalous and ignorant Ministers, in the case of Walter Bushnel, &c.

With a Vindication of the said Commissioners annexed.

Humbly submitted to publick Censure

Job 31.35,36. *O that mine Adversary had written a Book!*
Surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and binde it as a Crown to mee.

1 Cor 4. 4, 5. *I know nothing by my self, yet am not hereby justified, but hee that judgeth mee is the Lord.*
Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man have praise of God.

LONDON, Printed for Thomas Johnson, at the Golden-Key in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1660.

TO THE
HONOURABLE,

Sir Anthony Aſhlie-Cooper,

Knight and Baronet:

AND,

John Earnly *Eſq;*

Knights of the Shire for the County of Wilts: *As alſo to the Honourable, the Citizens and Burgeſſes returned for this preſent Parliament, for the reſpective City and Burroughs of the ſame County.*

Honoured and Honourable Gentlemen,

I Account it my great happineſſe that Mr. *Buſhnel* of *Box* having publiſhed a heavy charge againſt the Commiſſ. of the County of *Wilts*, appointed for the ejecting of ſcandalous and ignorant Miniſters, and therein bent himſelf moſt fiercely againſt mee as a moſt grievous offender, hath, by dedicating his Narrative to you, put a neceſſity upon mee, (unleſſe I would plead guilty to all hee

chargeth mee with) to publiſh my anſwer, and make you the Judges (which I do with all readineſſe and chearfulneſſe) between him and mee. I will not ſpeak a word to fore-ſtall your judgement, but humbly beg your pardon for my enforced boldneſſe, in directing this my Anſwer unto you, at whoſe feet I lay, and leave it and my ſelf with all content. Whereas Mr. *Buſhnel*, towards the end of his Narrative, having immediately before ſpoken of mee, by name, and the Commiſſioners, writes in his Scoffing Dialect, and Character, Page 208. Theſe men (as godly as they are) love dearly to bee fingring mony; for my part (I am ſure) I never fingred a farthing, but ſpent many a pound whilſt I was imployed as an Aſſiſtant to the Commiſſioners; and I cannot otherwiſe apprehend but that all the Commiſſioners are ſo free from fingering a penny in the execution of their Commiſſion from firſt to laſt, that they are all ready (as I have heard ſome of them proteſt they are, and by name Mr. *Bliſſet*) to purge themſelves by oath from this crime, and challenge any man to ſpeak, who

can

can testifie the contrary of them; I will no further trouble you who are taken up in the weighty affairs of the Nations, wherein that the Lord would graciously direct and assist you, and that Honourable Court whereof you are members, to act to his glory, the honour of his Majesty, and the happy establishment of peace, truth, and righteousnesse in our Land, is the earnest prayer of

Your most observant (though unworthy) servant,

Humphry Chambers.

TO THE Christian Reader.

Christian Reader,

IF ever a Book hath come under thy view and perusal, intituled, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by* O. Cromwell *for ejecting of scandalous and ignorant Ministers, in the case of* Walter Bushnel, *Clerk, Vicar of* Box, *in the County of* Wilts, *thou hast then received a heavy charge against my self, amongst others, into one of thy ears, all that I shall beg of thee, is, but to keep the other ear open to hear the Answer, and then bee thou an impartial Umpire between us.* Si accusasse sufficiat, &c. *If a charge go for proof, none can bee innocent. Mr.* Bushnels *Book came first to my hand and view on* Thursday *the sixteenth of* August, *in the evening;* Friday *I spent in reading of it, on* Saturday *I imployed as much time as I could spare from my studies preparatory to the Lords day, in writing my Answer, which on* Tuesday, August 21. *I delivered to a friend to bee transcribed for the Press; I acquaint thee with this, onely, to shew that Truth (needing no invention or art to set it off) may speedily bee spoken without any long study. I shall add no more but those never to bee forgotten words of our blessed Saviour; Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgements.*

Thine in the Lord

HUMPHREY CHAMBERS.

An

AN ANSVVER to a CHARGE against the Commissioners, for ejecting scandalous and ignorant Ministers, in the County of Wilts, published in Print by Walter Bushnel Vicar of Box, so far as it concerns Humphrey Chambers, Rector of Pewsey, submitted to publick censure.

ALthough I have no fear, that what Mr. *Bushnel* hath written, will impair my Reputation, with those to whom wee are both known (who are not a few) seeing wee were born, and for divers years lived within few miles one of another; And though I desire not to put Mr. *Bushnel* to bestow any more of his invention and eloquence upon mee, by replying upon what I shall write, yet being told by one who is a common and real friend * both to Mr. *Bushnel* and my self (before I had read this Book) That I was so deeply concerned in the Charge contained therein, that if I did not some way vindicate my self, Religion would suffer greatly through mee; and finding the same apprehension in some other Christian friends, I was induced to write this Answer for my self, leaving others to clear themselves from the crimes objected, as they shall see occasion, which I conceive without much difficulty they may do.

* Mr. *Carter* of *Marlebrough.*

Mr. *Bushnel* saith, that hee had no revengeful thought, nor had hee in the publication of his Narrative, any aim to asperse those of whom hee wrote, which if any (who reading his book) can beleeve to bee true, I shall not per- Pa. 225.

swade-

ſwade them to the contrary: Certain it is, that hee is without heſitation, to bee credited in his whole Narrative, if what hee writeth in his Epiſtle Dedicatory were true, *viz. I have not charged them with a ſyllable which I am not able by proofs to make good upon them.* This brings the buſineſs to a direct and ſhort iſſue, which I heartily deſire it may bee put upon, as far as I am concerned in it; and wiſh for no other Judges, than thoſe Honourable Gentlemen to whom Mr. *Buſhnel* hath dedicated his Narrative. I do not intend to varniſh or puzzle the buſineſs with multitude or affectation of words, but with affected brevity and plainneſs, to lay down Mr. *Buſhnels* Charge againſt mee, that hee may apply his proofs to the ſeveral branches of it, and then let all wiſe and good men judge between us.

Epiſt. Ded. *So it was, that ſome of the Commiſſioners, Miniſters, Witneſſes and others, who have eaten my bread, have, and do ſtill, upon all opportunities offered or ſought, report mee to the world for ſuch a one, ſo ſcandalous and ignorant, as altogether unfit either to return to my own living, or to bee admitted to any other.*

Anſw. This I ſay is utterly and wholly untrue as to my ſelf, and it reſteth upon Mr. *Buſhnel* to prove,

1 That I did ever *eat a bit of his bread*, yea, I bleſs the Lord I know not that (in the late Troubles) I was ever poſſeſſed of what any other man had a legal right to, unto the value of one penny.

2 That I did ever (to bate him that of all opportunities offered or ſought) report him to bee ſo ignorant, and ſo ſcandalous, as to bee altogether unfit to return to his own, or to bee admitted to any other Living; I am well aſſured that no ſuch words ever paſſed from my mouth.

Epiſtle to the Reader. *Theſe reſpective perſons I ſhall charge, and make good this Charge upon them: Firſt, The Miniſters, that they were ever medling with that which they had nothing to do withall. And page 216, 217. It may bee upon this very account, might the Doctor, and Mr.* Byfield *intrude ſo much, and act ſo fiercely as they did in matters of that cognizance which they had nothing to do withall:* And after, *All which notwithſtanding none took*

ſo

ſo much upon theſe in matter of ſcandal, as theſe two.

This, as to my ſelf, is a palpable and thorow untruth, as all the Commiſſioners, the Council, and the Officers, who attended the buſineſs, can well teſtifie: I have many a time left the Commiſſioners, when there was no buſineſs of examination about inſufficiency before them, and have hardly ſpoken in a whole day to any matter of ſcandal, when I have been preſent. It lyeth on Mr. *Buſhnel* to prove the contrary, to make his words good, which I am ſure hee can never do. Anſw.

I charge them all, Commiſſioners, Miniſters, Clerk, for coun-tenancing and incouraging infamous perſons, ſuch who had for-ſworn themſelves, and touching ſome of themſelves, in their hea-ring, &c. Epiſtle to the Reader.

This I utterly deny as to my ſelf, and am confident hee will never bee able to prove it, againſt my ſelf, or any the Commiſſioners, which will bee better tried, when wee come to particulars included in this general. Anſw.

Writing of *John Trevers*, (who exhibited the firſt Articles againſt him) as a mercinary wretch, ſaith, *And, for ſome ſuch kinde of man was hee looked upon by Mr.* Chambers *himſelf, when hee firſt delivered in theſe Articles againſt mee, who (as hee hath reported) called for the Articles, with a purpoſe to have torn them, becauſe they were exhibited by ſuch a hand.* Pag. 5.

I truſt Mr. *Buſhnel* intended not this as any part of his Charge againſt mee, ſeeing it pleadeth ſtrongly and truly for mee, that I had no evil intention againſt him, nor thought of promoting any Articles to his prejudice, as indeed I had not, and was greatly troubled in my ſpirit, that ſuch a fellow as I had heard *Trevers* to bee, ſhould bring in Articles againſt a Learned Miniſter, as I *then* took Mr. *Buſhnel* to bee. Anſw.

And here (for an introduction to the honeſty and diſcretion of the Doctor) I ſhall obſerve this unto thee, that (as I have been told) hee obſerved it, that although there were ſeveral names ſubſcribed, yet they were all written in the ſame hand, from which it muſt needs follow, that by the Doctors confeſſion, Pag. 6.

the whole writing, both Articles and hands, might bee all forged, as indeed they were; so that mee thinks, the Dr. hath very much over-shot himself in point of discretion, for hee looks upon the Articles the more, because subscribed with such and so many names, and yet hee acknowledgeth all the names to bee written with one hand, which would have made any sober man the more to have suspected it.

Answ. And upon this ground I did the more suspect the paper, and openly declared my dissatisfaction, as to the tender of these Articles by *Trevers*; And for my part (I conceive) they were then looked upon by the Commissioners, as of no value, and do still conceive, that they were not the Articles which were insisted on by the Commissioners; But that another paper of Articles was afterwards by *other* hands exhibited against him, which were read unto him as his charge: What cause therefore hee had in this place to make such an out-cry about my *honesty* and *discretion*, Let others judge.

Pag. 6. *But yet the Doctor had an evasion for this, for at my appearing before them at* Calne, *some of those whose names were subscribed, desired a sight of the paper, that they might know who had thus abused them, which they could not obtain, yet the Doctor* (*that* wee might not prove his friends *guilty of* forgery) *indeavours to preserve their Reputation with a* Salve *to some such purpose, That their names were written onely by way of a Memorandum, that in case they were called upon, they could depose to these Articles, that that might bee done without their knowledge* (*I think* hee added) *that it was an usual course in the proceedings of these Commissioners.*

Answ. This appeareth to bee no strange Relation, being onely of words spoken by mee to *some such purpose*, and depending onely on Mr. *Bushnels, I think*; And indeed I cannot say what I then spake, but I beleeve, if Mr. *Bushnel* do well recall himself, whatever I spake, it was spoken in a by-discourse to him, and those with him; I am confident hee can never prove, that I was unwilling that they whose names were subscribed, should have had a sight of the paper, or willing to give any countenance to that paper,

or

or the hand which delivered it, or the persons who contrived it, who are wholly unknown to mee, and ever were.

But now I must tell thee, that many of them whose names were subscribed unto those Articles did touching my self, first under their own hands, certifie to these Commissioners the quite contrary to these Articles, and afterwards being before them and sworn, were so far from testifying any thing to the sense of the Articles, as that all they said was to my vindication, all which was industriously declined by the Dr. and his Commissioners. Pag. 7.

Passing by your tart, groundless and frequent jear of *my Commissioners*, Try, if you can prove this *Syllable*, that I did industriously decline your vindication by your witnesses; prove that I was active, and stirring in that way, either in your case, or any other case, which was ever before the Commissioners, I am sure you will never prove it. Answ.

Reporting that one who was summoned for a witness, apprehended that two of the witnesses sworn against him, spoke out of malice; Mr. Bushnel *writes, which (said hee) the Commissioners having more understanding than wee, must needs perceive, and so they did some of them, and one of them a Minister* too, (to the Doctors credit hee is spoken) And yet, which is strange in this man, although hee discovered their leamen, and so must know them to act from base principles, and with reference to a base end, yet hee always vouchsafed to these men whom hee knew thus to act, his favourable countenance and furtherance.* Pag 69. *If a Minister, then no Commissioner.

That I may at once draw this, and all charges of the like nature in the Narrative to a plain issue, that Mr. *Bushnel* may see what hee is to apply his proofs unto; I will here briefly relate, according to truth, how far I was interessed in this business of Mr. *Bushnel*. At the first tendring the Articles by *Trevors*, I was disquieted, and much unsatisfied, and expressed my apprehension therein, as before appeareth: Afterwards, when *William Pinchin*, and *Obadiah Cheltnam* (altogether without any thought or knowledge of mine) tendred Articles against Mr. *Bushnel*, which were read to him, I did then (if hee call himself to remembrance) go from the table to Mr. *Bushnel*, as Answ.

owning

owning his acquaintance, and hee and I exchanged ſome friendly words, hee expreſſing a great defiance of the Articles, and ſenſe of the vileneſs of them (if they could bee proved) and then and there it was that I ſaid to him, (hee calling for witneſſes to prove the Articles) *That the ſeveral parties ſhould bee brought face to face*, as hee truly reports, pag. 4. At that time I looked on Mr. *Buſhnel* as a friend, from whom I ſhould have expected, and who might have expected from mee, any common friendly courteſie, there having never been any unfriendly paſſage between Mr. *Buſhnel* and my ſelf all our daies. After this *William Pinchin*, and *Obadiah Cheltnam* came to mee, as being both known to mee, to ſpeak with mee about Mr. *Buſhnels* buſineſs; They well know with what earneſtneſs I preſſed them both, to take heed what they did, and to look carefully to it, upon what grounds, and to what end they moved therein, telling them, that if from private diſcontents, malice, covetouſneſs, or any ſuch wretched grounds they did proſecute this Charge againſt the ſaid Mr. *Buſhnel*, the Lord would ſurely require it of them; Whereupon they did with extraordinary earneſtneſs proteſt to mee, that they had no enmity againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*, nor deſire or thought of making advantage by his removal, but that they did minde the good of their own (and others) ſouls in what they were doing, ſaying, that hee preached in ſuch a Scholar-like way, that his Pariſhioners were little profited by him, and that the ſcandalous miſcarriages charged in the Articles would bee fully proved againſt him; Upon this (being prevailed upon by their often and earneſt proteſtations.) I left them to do what they thought fit, onely I did take knowledge of them when they appeared before the Commiſſioners, as perſons known to mee, but never opened my mouth in their commendation, nor to further them, or any witneſs which they brought to prove the Articles againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*: The Articles of ſcandal (as Mr. *Buſhnel* often and truly intimateth) I had nothing to do with, being no Commiſſioner; Neither did I take upon mee to ſtickle about them

one

one way or other; And as for Mr. *Bushnels* last appearance at *Lavington*, when the Order was drawn up against him for his ejectment, as hee tells us, pag. 223. I was not then present, nor know I what was passed against him.

And at *Sarum*, when the order of Ejection was published against Mr. *Bushnel*, how very unwilling I was to have had any thing to do in the examination of him, they who were present know, and with what fair respect I managed that part of his examination which fell to my share, Mr. *Bushnel* may, and if hee do not, others do very well remember. Thus having made a true Relation how far I was concerned in Mr. *Bushnels* business; That which rests upon him to prove in the former Charge, is,

1 That I did know that *Pinchin* and *Powel* (the *two witnesses*) *did act from base principles, and to base ends*, which I utterly deny.

2 That I afforded unto them furtherance in what they did, whereas *Powel* I knew not, nor spake I any thing (that I know) to the furtherance of *Pinchins* testimony, but left it according to my place, to the Commissioners to consider of it.

But now having related how able and ready hee was to prove horrid and barbarous crimes acted by *Pinchin* against his Father, and other his nearest Relations (to take off the force of his testimony) *None, saith Mr.* Bushnel, *was more forward to withstand and oppose this, than Dr.* Chambers, *who knew much of it to bee true, but was not willing* (*'tis like*) *that it should come to the knowledge of these Gentlemen, for fear that hee should thereby have* * *lost so precious a witness, or perhaps for* fear * *that hee should have heard something which would have merely reflected on himself; This Dr. then acknowledging that there had been some small differences between them, praying that no more words might bee made of it; together with an intimation that all differences were now composed, or to some such purpose.* Pag. 71.

* What imaginable ground could I have of such fear, who was nothing concerned in the business.

* Speak out Man, I fear not the testimony of any person whatsoever.

Ans. The last words (*or to some such purpose*) evidence that Mr. *Bushnel* doth not well remember what I said, neither indeed do I; But this I am confident of, that I did never

 speak

ſpeak thoſe words, wherein the main weight of this Charge lieth, *viz.* That there had been ſome *ſmall differences* between *William Pinchin* and his Father: for though I never knew ſo much of the difference between them, as Mr. *Buſhnel* hath here expreſſed, yet by what I had heard about *William Pinchins* wicked and horrid carriage towards his Father, I did in my heart greatly loathe it, and could never mince it under the name of *ſmall differences*, poſſibly I might (though I do not now remember it) upon *William Pinchins* earneſt proteſtation which hee made to mee, of his deſire of becoming a new man, ſay ſomething of that buſineſs as a matter that was then paſt, but that I did colour it over with the name of *ſmall differences*, or words *to any ſuch purpoſe*, I aſſuredly beleeve is not true, nor will ever bee proved, and ſhall gladly imbrace Mr. *Buſhnels* counſel laid down, pag. 73. In theſe words, I could adviſe Mr. *Chambers* to admoniſh *William Pinchin*, that hee would ſadly conſider of it in this his day.

Pag. 89. Upon the recital of *Jane Hendyes* depoſition in his behalf Mr. *Buſhnel* addeth, *But now* William Pinchin, *at* Lavington *boldly interpoſes, and tells the Commiſſioners, that his Mother* (*this* Jone Pinchin) *had told him that this* Jane Hendy *had ſaid ſo much to her, on which Mr.* Chambers *adds, that if Goodwife* Pinchin *had ſaid ſo, hee was bound to beleeve her. And again at* Marleborough, May 8. *When there were papers delivered in by* William Pinchin, *written by himſelf, wherein it was affirmed under her mark, that* Jane Hendy *ſhould ſay ſo, the Doctor adds again, That if Goodwife* Pinchin *ſaid ſo, hee was in conſcience bound to beleeve her: Now by the Doctors leave, I conceive theſe words of his,* I am bound, *and* I am bound in conſcience to beleeve her, *were not ſpoken by him, either with diſcretion or charity.*

Anſw. I am yet to learn that I tranſgreſſed the Rules, either of diſcretion, or charity, in ſaying of a woman, whom I had for many years often converſed with, and taken to be a ſtayed Chriſtian woman, that *I was bound*, and *bound in conſcience to beleeve*, what ſhee ſaid and atteſted under her hand; But Mr. *Buſhnel* adds.

Not

Not with ſo much adviſedneſs or diſcretion: For it is well known that William Pinchin *had that power over his Mother, that ſhee dared not but to ſay, and to do as her ſon would have her, I beleeve ſo well known, that the Doctor himſelf could not be altogether ignorant of it.*

To beleeve that I would ſay that I was bound in conſcience to beleeve a woman of whom *I knew that her ſon had power over her to make her ſay or do what hee pleaſed*, I take it doth favour of little charity in Mr. *Buſhnel*, I hope I durſt not (whatever Mr. *Buſhnel* beleeves of mee) upon any tearms have ſaid, that I was bound in conſcience to beleeve Goodwife *Pinchin*, if I had known, or in the leaſt ſuſpected her to have been ſo little a Chriſtian, as to bee under the power of her ſon, to make her ſay and do what hee pleaſe: I did fully beleeve it was otherwiſe with her, when I ſhewed my beleef of what ſhee ſpake. Anſw.

And why might not the Dr. bee miſtaken in her, (viz. *Goodwife* Pinchin) *as well as hee hath been in many others* (women I mean, for there his acquaintance did eſpecially lye, *and theſe, many of them ſuch, who had the hand over their husbands*) *who have followed him as far, and as oft as* Jone Pinchin, *and yet are now fallen off both from his Doctrine and Acquaintance.* Pag. 91.

I know nothing in any man which may exempt others from a poſſibility of being deceived in him, whilſt hee hath the deceitful heart of man in his boſome: No doubt therefore I might bee deceived in Goodwife *Pinchin*; but I was ſo far perſwaded of her Chriſtianity at that time, when I ſpake, that I had good ground to beleeve, that ſhe would not wilfully ſpeak and ſwear againſt her own knowledge; And I am ſtill bound to beleeve as much of her, until I ſee the contrary proved upon her, by ſome who afford her liberty to anſwer for her ſelf: That my *acquaintance did eſpecially lye with women*, as Mr. *Buſhnel* doth here confidently and jeeringly (in another Character, for fear it ſhould not bee noted) affirm, is utterly untrue, as the whole country (where I then lived) knows, wherein I had the happineſs to bee intimately acquainted with very many men of Anſw.

beſt

beſt repute in all ranks, who afforded mee a large ſhare in their loving reſpects. It is true, that my Miniſtry found acceptance with divers Chriſtian women, whoſe acquaintance I have no cauſe to bee aſhamed of; if any of them, (for no doubt Mr. *Buſhnel* greatly outlaſheth in the word *many*) had the hand over their husbands, it was matter of griet to mee, whereſoever I ſaw it; and if many who uſed to hear mee, bee fallen off from my *Doctrine* and *Acquaintance*, I hope their defection cannot bee charged upon mee, as my crime. The Lord ſhew them mercy, and return them into the way of truth.

Pag. 94. *And now for Dr.* Chambers (a man of ſo much reverence and learning) *to ſay* (*when it had been* good manners *in him to hold his peace*) *that if Goodwife* Pinchin *had ſaid ſo, hee was in conſcience bound to beleeve her, was* (*upon the matter*) *to ſay to this* Jane Hendyes *face, that ſhee had twice foreſworn her ſelf.*

Anſw: Here again Mr. *Buſhnel* puts in his jeer of, *a man of ſo much Reve ence and Learning*, in other Characters, fearing belike that his Readers would bee ſo thick-ſented, as not to ſmell the ſweetneſs of his tart Sarcaſm, without ſome ſignal Indication, for which end, belike, hee thought the mentioning of *good manners*, immediately after, would not bee ſufficient: Whether this bee dealing ſuitable to a Miniſter of the Goſpel let others judge: But as for what hee publiſheth as an evidence of want of charity in mee towards *Jane Hendy* I am confident all the Logick in *Ariſtotles* Organon, will never joyn his Premiſes and Concluſion together; For what *Jane Hendy* ſware, and Goodwife *Pinchin* ſaid, and confirmed by oath, may be all true, and no contradiction bee found between their two oaths; for *Jane Hendy* ſwore cautelouſly, that ſhee did not remember that ſhee ever ſpake of any ſuch thing to *Jone Pinchin*, which *Jone Pinchin* ſware ſhee did ſpeak to her, and both oaths may be true, for it may (poſſibly) bee true, that *Jane Hendy* did ſpeak ſomething to *Jone Pinchin*, which ſhee did not at that preſent remember; ſo that I might ſay, that *I was in conſcience bound to beleeve* Goodwife *Pinchin*, and

and yet not say (*upon the matter*) that *Jane Hendy* had twice *forsworn* her self; And therefore what I said, did not at all amount to what Mr. *Bushnel* collects from my words, and makes a horrible out-cry upon, pag. 95. That I did pronounce one of them *infallible*, and the other *perjured*: They did both swear according to truth, for ought I know, I am sure they might do so, and my charity inclines mee to think that they did so, for I know no sufficient ground why Mr. *Bushnel* should peremptorily affirm, that the testimony of these two women are contradictory, and that one or other of them must *needs bee forsworn*.

And now I shall add further, that I beleeve that this, and many other false oaths had never been taken, had not the Doctor by those words, I am bound in conscience, *hinted unto them a kinde of faculty, or dispensation of swearing, and that now they might bee bold.* Pag. 96.

I refer it to the judgement of any rational Christian to determine whether my saying of Goodwife *Pinchin*, that I was *bound in conscience* to beleeve what shee said, upon that perswasion which I had of her, that shee was a conscientious Christian, did hint a *dispensation* to her, and much more to any other, whom I had no knowledge of, to swear falsly: I am confident Mr. *Bushnel* will never bee able to shew any rational ground of his beleef, that my saying that I was *bound* to *beleeve* Goodwife *Pinchin*, did contain in it an *incouragement* or *dispensation* for her, or any other, to swear falsly. Answ.

And one thing further, this oath being false (as I am confident it was) and (as it is very probable) this oath being caused by such an invitation, I am bound in conscience, *if an incourager, or an abetter, or a perswader bee an Accessary, I cannot acquit some body* (the Dr. may guess whom I mean) *from being guilty of this and many following perjuries.* Pag. 96.

Here Mr. *Bushnel* is peremptorily confident, that Goodwife *Pinchins* oath was false, and that *the perjury lies with her*, as before hee expressed himself; had I said so much of *Jane Hendy*, I should have heard of want of charity on Answ.

both ears: But I ſhall leave Mr. *Buſhnel* to conſider whether there bee not ſome want of charity in this his confidence: But that my ſaying, *I am bound in conſcience* to beleeve what Goodwife *Pinchin* ſaid, being ſpoken in relation to what ſhe had ſaid and teſtified under her hand, ſhould bee in any probability a cauſe and invitation to induce her to ſwear what ſhee did, is a moſt ſenſeleſs and irrational conjecture, becauſe I ſpake the words after ſhee had fully declared what ſhee could and would ſwear; The relation of what ſhee would ſwear, given under her hand, cauſed mee to ſay, as himſelf relates it, pag. 89. That I was *bound in conſcience* to beleeve what ſhee teſtified: And therefore it is not onely improbable, but utterly impoſſible that my words ſhould bee a foregoing *cauſe*, and *invitation* to her Oath. But that my ſaying of one whom I lookt upon as a Chriſtian woman of great fidelity, that if ſhee would ſwear, I were *bound in conſcience to beleeve her*, ſhould make mee an *Incourager*, an *Abetter*, and *Acceſſary* to her falſe Oath, in caſe ſhee ſhould ſwear falſly, and much more to the perjuries of others (as Mr. *Buſhnel* doth here in a calumniating injurious way charge mee to bee) I am confident will ſeem rational to no intelligent perſon whatſoever; And therefore this high and groundleſs calumny, being built upon ſuch a falſe and ſandy foundation, I do not fear, but it will fall of it ſelf, without any derogation from my good name.

Pag 97. *Now I muſt tell the Reader, That not long before this, ſhee,* (viz. *Goodwife* Pinchin) *having ſome diſcourſe with ſeveral perſons, ever acquitted mee, ſaying, That ſhee believed that I was wronged, or to that purpoſe; but now ſhee changes her note, and ſaies. Shee cannot judge: Doubtleſs her own ſon* William, *or the Doctor (for I have heard that hee was at her houſe betwixt* April 28. *and* June 4.) *had inſtructed her, and taught her to fall ſhort, and why might hee not make the whole, as well as alter a part of it?*

Anſw. By what Mr. *Buſhnel* here relateth of Goodwife *Pinchins* former words, it appeareth, That there were ſome reports then going of what Goodwife *Pinchin* teſtified, that

Jane

Jane Hendy ſpake about Mr. *Buſhnels* carriage towards her, But then Goodwife *Pinchin* (*as hee relates it*) beleeved hee was wronged in thoſe reports; I leave this wholly as not being concerned in it: Whereas Mr. *Buſhnel* layeth it down as an undoubted truth, that either *William Pinchin* or I, and leaveth it doubtful, whether hee or I, *inſtructed* Goodwife *Pinchin*, and *taught her* upon her oath, to fall ſhort of what ſhee knew, and had formerly ſpoken; I deny and defie this charge, as moſt untrue and injurious; if Mr. *Buſhnel* can make the leaſt proof, or ſhadow of proof of it, I require him to do it, as hee tendereth the being free from the blot of a falſe and malicious Accuſer: I acknowledge that I called at Goodwife *Pinchins* houſe (the high way lying cloſe by her door) as I rode by, and ſpake with her as an antient Chriſtian friend, but that I *inſtructed* her, or *taught* her to ſwear againſt her knowledge, is a ſpightful and moſt untrue inſinuation, which muſt bee anſwered for at the appearance of the Lord Jeſus.

Mr. Buſhnel *writeth, that it was teſtified againſt one* William Cottle, *who was a witneſs againſt him, amongſt other things, that hee ſhould ſay, that your Perſons were greedy, and that hee would truſt none of them all, no not Mr.* Chambers, *who had left* Claverton, *and was gone to* Pewſey: *And when* Cottle (*being ſtill upon his Oath*) *denied theſe words to bee ſpoken by him, after they were teſtified and ſworn to his face, hee acknowledged that hee had ſpoken them, adding further, why? what if I did ſay ſo? The truth is, that the thing being barely conſidered in and of it ſelf, it mattered not, if hee had ſaid ſo, for it was true as hee ſaid; Mr.* Chambers *had left* Claverton (*nor was this the firſt time hee had left it*) *and was gone to* Pewſey, *and this to his great advantage too, for the report goes that hee is three hundred pounds a year gainer by this Remove.* Pag. 106.

That I left *Claverton* before I came to *Pewſey*, & afterwards came to *Pewſey*, with a conſiderable advantage as to outward ſtate, I do freely acknowledge; Nor was I ever offended with any, who before they had heard what account I could give of my Removal, had ſpoken of it, as importing Anſw.

ſome earthly-mindedneſs in mee; But not to trouble the world with tedious relations about perſonal buſineſſes, if Mr. *Buſhnel* be pleaſed to afford mee a private occaſion, as divers Chriſtian friends have done, to diſcover to him the grounds and reaſons of my removal from *Claverton*, and coming to *Pewſey*, I doubt not, but I ſhall ſo far ſatisfie him, as to cauſe him to deſiſt from making this a matter of publick reproach and defamation againſt mee.

Pag. 109. *It were not amiſs to tell thee that* John Trevers, *ſitting by, during this debate, and hearing and noting all the paſſages, obſerved it* (*and ſo did others beſides*) *and* (*as I have heard*) *hath reported it elſewhere with ſome complacency, that Mr.* Chambers *did hang down his head the while; Now wee know, that hanging down of the head doth uſually ſignifie that there is ſhame and ſorrow in the heart.*

——pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuiſſe & non potuiſſe refelli.

And whereas ſhame doth uſually produce either an amendment in the perſon ſo expoſed; or elſe indignation, which the perſon ſo expoſed conceives againſt him whom hee looks on as the cauſe of this expoſal; I have ſome conjecture, that this wrought after the latter and worſer way with Dr. Chambers; *and that hee did for this, ſtore up a good turn for mee againſt hee had an opportunity; of which the Readers ſhall have ſome account in due time and place.*

Anſw. It is very ſtrange that Mr. *Buſhnel*, being preſent all the time of this debate, and being a diligent obſerver of all my words and carriages (as appears throughout his Narrative) did not himſelf take notice of my *hanging down my head*, if it were ſo conſiderable as hee would have the world beleeve it was, from the teſtimony of *Trevers*, and other unnamed witneſſes; But to ſpeak this once for all to *Cottles* words concerning mee, though Mr. *Buſhnel* makes often uſe of them for his purpoſe, I bleſs the Lord I have ſo much quiet in my own heart, as concerning my Removal from *Claverton*, and coming to *Pewſey*, that I was never aſhamed

aſhamed to hear of it in any place, or to bee called to ſhew my grounds for it; whether *I held down my head*, when *Cottles* words were proved upon him by oath, I know not; This I am moſt aſſured of, that it was not out of any *ſhame* which ſurprized mee upon the hearing of *Cottles* words, in relation to my ſelf: I was ſo little affected with the words, that though upon Mr. *Buſhnels* Relation, I do beleeve that it was atteſted upon oath, that ſuch words were ſpoken by *Cottle*, yet this I can truly take my oath of, that I had utterly forgotten it, and did not in the leaſt remember any ſuch paſſage; And as for Mr. *Buſhnels* uncharitable conjecture, that I did ſtore up a good turn for him, by reaſon of thoſe words of *Cottle*, I call the great God to witneſs, who can onely teſtifie in this Caſe, that I never had, nor have I, the leaſt indignation againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*, in regard of *Cottles* words; if hee knew my heart, hee would beleeve mee.

Having called the witneſſes which appeared againſt him, the Doctors, Mr. Byfields, *and Mr.* Bliſſets *witneſſes, Mr.* Buſhnel *adds*; *Nor can theſe men have any juſt cauſe to diſtaſte mee, that I call them their witneſſes, when I have given my reaſons of it. I have told thee already, that I beleeve that many a one which hath appeared before them, and have been ſworn againſt mee, had never ſo done, had it not been for their invitation and countenance, which as before, ſo at this time appeared moſt viſible.* Pag. 112.

What hath before been produced by Mr. *Buſhnel*, to prove mee an *Inviter* and *Countenancer* of the witneſſes againſt him, hath been anſwered by mee, and I leave it to the cenſure of the judicious Reader. Now it ſeems by his words, hee hath met with a moſt *viſible* Evidence in the Caſe, which is next to bee conſidered. Anſw.

Having named the ſolicitors againſt him, Mr. *Buſhnel* adds, *And in their addreſſes (neglecting the Gentlemen to whom alone of right this buſineſs did belong.) Their Applications were to Mr.* Chambers, *and Mr.* Byfield, John Trevers, *and* William Pinchin, *at the upper end of the Table ſtanding at the Elbow of the Dr. and* Obadiah Cheltenham *towards*

wards the lower end, waiting upon Mr. Byfield: *And this I conceive to bee reaſon enough wherefore I call them their witneſſes.*

Anſw. I dare not return Mr. *Buſhnel* any jeers, but in good earneſt, it is ſtrange to mee, that Mr. *Buſhnel* being (as I know him to bee) a Scholar, and a Logician, ſhould think there is ſufficient ſtrength in this Reaſon why hee ſhould call the ſolicitors, Mine, Mr. *Byfields*, and Mr. *Bliſſets witneſſes*, becauſe two of them ſtood at my elbow, and one by Mr. *Byfield*: For if this bee the reaſon why hee calleth them *our wineſſes*, then by the ſame reaſon, they ſhould not bee called Mr. *Bliſſets witneſſes*, becauſe never a one of them ſtood at his elbow, or waited upon him: But if *Trevers* and *Pinchin* did ſtand by mee, which is more than I can tell: Did I entertain any friendly diſcourſe with them? Did I take any ſpecial notice of them? Did I ſpeak a word in favour of them or their buſineſs? Of this here is, *Altum Silentium*, which wee may bee ſure proceeded not from any willingneſs in Mr. *Buſhnel*, to ſuppreſs any thing which hee had any hope might make againſt mee.

Pag. 138. Upon the Relation of the Teſtimony of *Henry Sheyler*, upon oath, that hee was told by one *Nowell* (who with his wife had depoſed ſomething againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*) that *Trevers* and *Pinchin* made profers and promiſes of mony to him, if hee would appear and ſwear againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*, it followeth: *I muſt tell thee further, that ſoon after this depoſition of* Sheyler *was taken,* Nowells *wife (being before at a window, and hearing what had paſſed) comes towards the Dr.* (for unto him were the moſt eſpecial addreſſes made) *and after a* long *and a* low *courteſie, adds, yea, ſurely if Mr.* Buſhnel *had not to pick a thank with Coll.* Eyre, *told him of my Husbands Gun, and ſaid, that therewith hee uſed to kill Hares and Pigeons, wee would not have been here to day to have ſworn againſt him. And ſtill continuing* * *courteſing to Mr.* Chambers *(who then turned his head a-*

* It ſeemeth ſhee was very free of her courteſies, who would make ſo many, and ſo low courteſies when ſhee was not taken notice of.

bout

but, and looked towards her) ſhee adds further, That hee had known her of a long time.

By this it appeareth, that *Nowells* wife claimed acquaintance with mee (and indeed her Father was my Clerk when I lived at *Claverton*) But did I take any ſpecial notice of her? or ſhew her any ſpecial favour? by this ſtory it ſeems I did not, who did not ſuddenly turn my head towards her, and when I did, though ſhee ſpoke to mee, yet here is no intimation of any thing I ſaid to her, which would have been the Principal Verb in the Sentence, if any ſuch thing could have been alledged againſt mee. And now Chriſtian Reader, judge indifferently what reaſon Mr. *Buſhnel* had to write, page 139. that *Nowell* and his wife conceiving themſelves injured formerly by him, having this opportunity, and countenance of the Dr. *her antient acquaintance* (which is written in the jeering character) they were reſolved to bee revenged on us both (I mean the Collenel and my ſelf.) Anſw.

Having related four depoſitions taken againſt one *Sanders*, who was a witneſs againſt him, to prove the ſaid *Sanders* to bee a very vicious perſon, Mr. *Buſhnel* adds; *It muſt not bee forgotten, that before theſe three laſt depoſitions were taken at* Marleborough, *the Dr.* (*belike having before either inſtructed* William Pinchin *what was to bee done, or elſe having been informed by* William Pinchin *what hee had done*) *beckning to* William Pinchin *with his hands, and twinkling of his eyes, it ſeems as doubting that* William Pinchin *had forgotten himſelf. Whereupon* William Pinchin *approacheth, and with a* low congee, *delivers to the Dr. a peece of Paper, which the Dr. conveyes to Mr.* Bliſſet, *with* ſome ſuch words; *There is a Teſtimony of this mans* (*meaning* Sanders) *behaviour; which was by Mr.* Bliſſet *read accordingly. The buſineſs was but ſhort, and my thoughts ſo much upon* this Doctor, *that I little noted it; onely I remember there were the names of ſome whom I knew, ſet to it, and the names of others which I have heard of.* Pag. 147.

Becauſe Mr. *Buſhnel* maketh much ado about this *Sanders*, as if I had been under great guilt in relation to him, Anſw.

wards the lower end, waiting upon Mr. Byfield: *And this I conceive to bee reaſon enough wherefore I call them their witneſſes.*

Anſw. I dare not return Mr. *Buſhnel* any jeers, but in good earneſt, it is ſtrange to mee, that Mr. *Buſhnel* being (as I know him to bee) a Scholar, and a Logician, ſhould think there is ſufficient ſtrength in this Reaſon why hee ſhould call the ſolicitors, Mine, Mr. *Byfields*, and Mr. *Bliſſets witneſſes*, becauſe two of them ſtood at my elbow, and one by Mr. *Byfield*: For if this bee the reaſon why hee calleth them *our wineſſes*, then by the ſame reaſon, they ſhould not bee called Mr. *Bliſſets witneſſes*, becauſe never a one of them ſtood at his elbow, or waited upon him: But if *Trevers* and *Pinchin* did ſtand by mee, which is more than I can tell: Did I entertain any friendly diſcourſe with them? Did I take any ſpecial notice of them? Did I ſpeak a word in favour of them or their buſineſs? Of this here is, *Altum Silentium*, which wee may bee ſure proceeded not from any willingneſs in Mr. *Buſhnel*, to ſuppreſs any thing which hee had any hope might make againſt mee.

Pag. 138. Upon the Relation of the Teſtimony of *Henry Sheyler*, upon oath, that hee was told by one *Nowell* (who with his wife had depoſed ſomething againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*) that *Trevers* and *Pinchin* made profers and promiſes of mony to him, if hee would appear and ſwear againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*, it followeth: *I muſt tell thee further, that ſoon after this depoſition of* Sheyler *was taken,* Nowells *wife (being before at a window, and hearing what had paſſed) comes towards the Dr.* (for unto him were the moſt eſpecial addreſſes made) *and after a* long *and a* low *courteſie, adds, yea, ſurely if Mr.* Buſhnel *had not to pick a thank with Coll.* Eyre, *told him of my Husbands Gun, and ſaid, that therewith hee uſed to kill Hares and Pigeons, wee would not have been here to day to have ſworn againſt him. And ſtill continuing* * *courteſing to Mr.* Chambers *(who then turned his head a-*

* It ſeemeth ſhee was very free of her courteſies, who would make ſo many, and ſo low courteſies when ſhee was not taken notice of.

bout

bent, and looked towards her) *ſhee adds further, That hee had known her of a long time.*

By this it appeareth, that *Nowells* wife claimed acquaintance with mee (and indeed her Father was my Clerk when I lived at *Claverton*) But did I take any ſpecial notice of her? or ſhew her any ſpecial favour? by this ſtory it ſeems I did not, who did not ſuddenly turn my head towards her, and when I did, though ſhee ſpoke to mee, yet here is no intimation of any thing I ſaid to her, which would have been the Principal Verb in the Sentence, if any ſuch thing could have been alledged againſt mee. And now Chriſtian Reader, judge indifferently what reaſon Mr. *Buſhnel* had to write, page 139. that *Nowell* and his wife conceiving themſelves injured formerly by him, having this opportunity, and countenance of the Dr. *her antient acquaintance* (which is written in the jeering character) they were reſolved to bee revenged on us both (I mean the Collenel and my ſelf.) Anſw.

Having related four depoſitions taken againſt one *Sanders*, who was a witneſs againſt him, to prove the ſaid *Sanders* to bee a very vicious perſon, Mr. *Buſhnel* adds; *It muſt not bee forgotten, that before theſe three laſt depoſitions were taken at* Marleborough, *the Dr.* (*belike having before either inſtructed* William Pinchin *what was to bee done, or elſe having been informed by* William Pinchin *what hee had done*) *becking to* William Pinchin *with his hands, and twinkling of his eyes, it ſeems as doubting that* William Pinchin *had forgotten himſelf. Whereupon* William Pinchin *approacheth, and with a* low congee, *delivers to the Dr. a peece of Paper, which the Dr. conveyes to Mr.* Bliſſet, *with* ſome ſuch words; *There is a Teſtimony of this mans* (*meaning* Sanders) *behaviour; which was by Mr.* Bliſſet *read accordingly. The buſineſs was but ſhort, and my thoughts ſo much upon* this Doctor, *that I little noted it; onely I remember there were the names of ſome whom I knew, ſet to it, and the names of others which I have heard of.* Pag. 147.

Becauſe Mr. *Buſhnel* maketh much ado about this *Sanders*, as if I had been under great guilt in relation to him, Anſw.

I will relate all that I know about the buſineſs of *Sanders*: This *Sanders* is one whom I never knew, nor had heard a word of him, till the time that hee appeared as a witneſs before the Commiſſioners: *William Pinchin* came to mee in the Chamber before the ſitting of the Commiſſioners, and ſhewed mee a Certificate in the behalf of the ſaid *Sanders*, ſubſcribed by the hands of ſome men of honeſty and credit in *Chippenham*, whoſe Reputation prevailed with mee to think it to bee of ſome credit, and it is likely, as Mr. *Buſhnel* relateth it (though it bee gone out of my memory) that I might becken to *William Pinchin* to have the Certificate from him, and give it to Mr. *Bliſſett* to bee read, when *Sanders* name was in queſtion; not out of any purpoſe to bolſter up *Sanders* in any wickedneſs, but onely that it might bee weighed by the Commiſſioners, whether *Sanders* were a man any way to bee credited, yea, or no, wherein I was able to ſay nothing: This is all I know about *Sanders*, which whether it amount to a guilt, let the Reader judge.

Pag. 148. *I ſhall tell thee here, that* William Sanders *being queſtioned for the Sacriledge (mentioned, but now) fled, and that hee ſtands anſwerable for this Sacriledge even to this hour. And was it not a handſome thing for the Dr. to countenance this man (againſt the Miniſter) that had robbed the Church.*

Anſw. I am beholding to Mr. *Buſhnel* for an anſwer to this Charge, which elſe my memory would not have helped mee unto: Hee tells us, that before the three laſt depoſitions were taken againſt *Sanders*, I handed the Certificate in his behalf from *William Pinchin* to Mr. *Bliſſett*; now one of thoſe three laſt Depoſitions concerneth the Sacrilege here ſpoken of, and therefore if hee will needs interpret my delivering in the Certificate for a countenancing of this man (which is more than it amounteth unto) yet I am free from countenancing a Church-robber againſt a Miniſter, ſeeing the Depoſition concerning *Sanders* Sacriledge was not given in, neither had I ever heard a word of it when I handed the Certificate to Mr. *Bliſſett*.

Pag. 156. Having related the wicked and fraudulent courſe (ſuppoſing

posing it to bee as hee relateth) which was taken for the obtaining the Certificate for *Sanders* from the *Chippenham*-men, Mr. *Bushnel* adds: *Now I do not wonder that* William Pinchin, Nicholas Spencer, William Sanders, *and* Obadiah Cheltenham *should contrive and practise such unworthy courses; My wonder is, that the Doctor should so demurely put to his helping hand for the promoting of them; nay, that hee should bee more forward than* William Pinchin, *and readier to call for it, than* William Pinchin *was to deliver it. But doubtless the* Caln-*business did yet stick in the Doctors stomach; there were a generation of men heretofore great pretenders to godliness, that were touchy, and very implacable; and perchance before I make an end of this discourse, I shall make some * observes to the Dr. of the Agagite in the Old Testament, and the Scribes and Pharisees in the New.*

* Such spiteful observes are easily and frequently to bee observed throughout his Narrative.

I do from my soul abhor all such false and fraudulent waies, as Mr. *Bushnel* makes mention of in the relation of the getting the Certificate for *Sanders*: If I had had the least knowledge or jealousie the Certificate had been in such wise obtained, I would never have taken it into my hand, unless it had been to tear, or burn it: But the names subscribed to it, did keep mee off wholly from such a suspicion, and was the onely cause why I delivered it. And as for Mr. *Bushnels* saying, that doubtless the *Caln*-business stuck in my stomach, doubtless hee can make no proof of that, and the Lord knows it is utterly false, and against the Rule by which I make conscience to walk, which is to forgive others, as I desire to bee forgiven of God: But as for *Cottles* words, I can truly say, I never valued them more than a puff off wind. Answ.

I have told thee, that at such time, as (amongst other notorious Infamies) wee had proved Sanders *to have fallen upon his own Father, to have thrown him down, and beaten him, saying, Hee would make an end of the old Rogue, Mr.* Chambers *calls for a Certificate, and promoteth it in this* Sanders *behalf: And this is the second time that hee shewed himself very forward, either to countenance, or defend such as by the Law of God had forfeited their lives.* Pag. 160.

Anſw. Mr. *Buſhnel* may remember what hee hath told us, that I had delivered the Certificate to Mr. *Bliſſet* before *Sanders* his curſed violence offered to his Father was teſtified upon oath by one of the three laſt witneſſes, and ſo before I had the leaſt thought of any ſuch execrable carriage of his, and therefore Mr. *Buſhnel* doth very injuriouſly charge mee with *countenancing* or *defending* ſuch as by the Law of God were adjudged to death: I could willingly give my voice for the reviving of that Law, and the Lord knows Mr. *Buſhnel* doth mee open wrong, when pag. 161. hee writes that the Doctor did look upon a ſons couzening, curſing, frequent beating of his Parents, after a barbarous manner, throwing them down, laying hands upon them, taking of them by the throat, drawing his knife upon them, calling them old Rogue, and threatning to make an end of them, as onely ſome *ſmall differences*, or *matters*, not much to bee noted, or eaſily to bee excuſed: No, no, Mr. *Buſhnel*, there is one that knoweth this to bee a very falſe and injurious accuſation, before whom you and I ſhall one day ſtand with open hearts, when not hee that commendeth himſelf ſhall bee approved, but hee whom God commendeth.

Pag 168. *I had at this time, and before, ſeveral witneſſes with mee, which I deſired might bee examined upon ſuch Queries as ſhould have been propoſed unto them; but a* word of exception *againſt them from* William Pinchin (*the Solicitor*) *and Mr.* Byfield (the Advocate) *ſoon ſilenced, or put them all by; and thus they ſerved no leſs than four at this time, ſome whereof would have told pretty ſtories of* William Pinchin, John Trevers, Obadiah Cheltenham, William Cottle, William Sanders, *yea* (*perchance*) of the Doctor too, *if they might have been heard.*

Anſw. Mr. *Buſhnel* doth not here accuſe mee of ſtopping the Examination of his Witneſſes, and therefore to that I ſhall ſay nothing; But I deſire Mr. *Buſhnel* not to *Lye* in the clouds, and raiſe blind ſuſpicions of unknown crimes againſt mee: If hee knows any that knew any ſecret actings of wickedneſs whereof I am guilty, let them ſpeak out, that

that I may know what to answer to. Though I know so much of no mans sinfulness, as I do of mine own, yet (I bless the Lord) I have no cause to fear the Testimony either of friends, or foes against mee, as to such crimes as come under the worlds condemnation and censure.

Mr. Bushnel *writing of Col.* Eyre, *saith, All which, net-* Pag. 181.
withstanding all these men, by Collonel Eyre *thus proceeded against for several Infamies, are by Mr.* Byfield, *the Doctor, and their friends at* Marleborough *encouraged to testifie against him to his reproach, and yet hee not permitted to say any thing in his defence.*

This as to my self I avow to bee a notorious untruth, Answ.
and require a proof of it: Col. *Eyre* hath ever been my loving, and I beleeve my intire friend, and I am sure I have, and do unfeignedly desire his welfare in all kinds, nor will it ever bee proved (I am sure) that I have transgressed the Rules of Love, so far towards him, as to encourage any to testifie any thing to his reproach; I am sure it hath occasioned trouble of heart unto mee, when I have heard any reports of that nature carried about of him.

I was told that one neer related to the persons and practices of Pag. 207, 208.
the Commissioners, should say to this purpose, seeing us come in to Town, That Mr. Bushnel *had brought such and such along with him, but that it was to no purpose, for hee could not stay at* Box, *because that place was appointed for another man, &c. As to mine own particular, I shall say onely this; 1 That by their own confession, my place was appointed for another man; which 2 I beleeve was the man who hath since my ejectment held it,* viz. *Mr.* Sterne, *who lived formerly in a Living sequestred of Mr.* Walkers *at* Chilmark, *and it may bee was there as a kinde of a Curate to Mr.* Sanger, *Dr.* Chambers *Brother-in-law: But at this time was destitute, and therefore right or wrong, a place must bee provided for him elsewhere.*

This passage maketh it evident, that any grounDless and Answ.
improbable probability is sufficient for Mr. *Bushnel* to build vehement complaints upon, against mee and the Commissioners: For here is an uncertain tale taken up at a distance from *one*, who *told another*, who *told* Mr. *Bushnel*,

ſomething to this purpoſe, that Mr. *Buſhnel* muſt not ſtay at *Box*, becauſe that place was appointed for another man; I cannot but think, that if this tale were brought back to the firſt Author of it, hee would diſclaim it as ſpurious; But bee it as it may bee, doth this tale (if true) warrant Mr. *Buſhnel* to note from it, That by their own *confeſſion* his place was appointed for another man; where is any ſuch *Confeſſion of the Commiſſioners*? who ever heard it? what if hee that firſt ſpake the words (related) ſpake without book, or upon ſome uncertain conjecture, than which nothing is more frequent? doth this prove a *Confeſſion of the Commiſſioners* themſelves in the caſe? Hee is very willing to beleeve, that taketh ſuch proofs; And as to Mr. *Buſhnels* ſecond note upon this uncertain ſtory, wherein hee thinks (belike) hee hath paid mee home, hee may know that Mr. *Stern* was never any *kinde* of *Curate* to my *brother Sanger*, nor any way related to mee, nor had I any ſpecial cauſe in the world to look after his ſettlement. And therefore Mr. *Buſhnel* doth mee and himſelf open wrong, to write, that becauſe Mr. *Stern* (it may bee) was a *kinde* of *Curate* to my *brother Sanger*; Therefore (*being deſtitute of a place*) *right* or *wrong* a place muſt bee provided for him, and ſo, which is the Concluſion driven at, I and the Commiſſioners muſt needs bee guilty of prejudging Mr. *Buſhnels* caſe. Let any rational man judge whether Mr. *Buſhnels* paſſion did not here put him quite out of his Argumentative faculty.

Pag. 213. *I was told likewiſe, that there were heavy exceptions taken againſt mee, that I came not amongſt them, Mr.* Chambers *Mr.* Byfield *&c. and that I did not make one at their meetings, That I did not aſſociate, but rather, that I not onely neglected but deſpiſed them, or to ſome ſuch purpoſe.*

Anſw. If any one ſpoke theſe words, *or to ſome ſuch purpoſe*, to Mr. *Buſhnel*, certainly hee abuſed Mr. *Buſhnels* eares, by putting a moſt notorious falſhood into them which can never bee proved, And therefore I cannot but ſtand amazed at what Mr. *Buſhnel* adds.

And

And doubtleſs with the Dr. and Mr. Byfield, *this was enough to make a man ſcandalous in the higheſt degree.*

Doubtleſs this is a moſt notorious untruth, as may bee proved by many inſtances of divers perſons not aſſociating, yet dearly loved, and highly prized, both by Mr. *Byfield* and my ſelf. Anſw.

Shewing ſome reaſons why Mr. Buſhnel *did not aſſociate with us, hee ſaith one reaſon was, Becauſe the perſons who were the leading men amongſt them were as fierce and rigid in their way as are any (I beleeve) on this ſide or beyond* Tweed. Pag. 214.

If Mr. *Buſhnel* doth beleeve this, then I am ſure, hee beleeveth as utter an untruth as was ever told: The men hee aims at, I know, are profeſt enemies to fierceneſs and rigidneſs in their way, and deſire nothing more than that Brethern of ſeveral perſwaſions may walk in a way of Chriſtian moderation: Anſw.

Relating how Mr. *Byfield* inſiſted upon *the* Order, that none might bee preſent at the Examination but the Commiſſioners and their aſſiſtants, hee writes; *And what if they had heard or known them? Were your queſtions ſuch that you were aſhamed to have them known; or was it for fear the Country ſhould (hearing your queſtions and my anſwers) think better of mee than you were willing?* Pag. 220.

It is well known that I earneſtly moved, that all that would might bee preſent at your examination, and had prevailed therein, had not the fore-going Order obſtructed it. Anſw.

Speaking of the time when the order of ejection was publiſhed againſt him, Mr. *Buſhnel* writes; *I obſerved that while my ſentence was reading Mr.* Chambers *had pulled down his hat ſomewhat low on his face, but the reſidue of his face which might bee ſeen looked very big, and poſſibly might ſay within himſelf, That now hee had taught mee to bring a man of his mettle upon the ſtage, to make him the diſcourſe and laughter of the Country for leaving* Claverton *and going to* Pewſy. Pag. 223.

I eaſily beleeve Mr. *Buſhnel*, that hee did obſerve mee, at this, as at all times, moſt watchfully, if hee might poſſibly Anſw.

eſpy

eſpy any thing in mee to be complained of? But whereas hee ſaith, that hee obſerved mee, that whilſt his ſentence was read, I pulled down my hat ſomewhat low upon my face, but for the reſidue of my face which might be ſeen, I looked very big; any man without much obſervation may ſee much irrational ſpite in this relation, which can hardly, if poſſibly bee made to conſiſt with it ſelf; For if I pulled down my hat ſomewhat low upon my face, how could I then at the ſame time look bigg with a little part of my face? I ſuppoſe that, in common underſtanding, bigge looks are ſuch, when men do not cover their faces ſomewhat low, as men aſhamed, or afraid, but do, if poſſible, make more of their faces, than they are, by high looks, that they may out-face ſuch perſons or things as are before them. I am confident in true reaſon (before unbiaſſed Judges) there is a more palpable contradiction between the two parts of this Relation, than between the two oaths of *Jone Pinchin*, and *Jane Hendy*, upon which Mr. *Buſhnel* doth, *tanto hiatu*, tragediate, pag. 94, 95. And as for that ſpiteful, jeering, groundleſs, and moſt uncharitable comment which hee made upon my looks, and wherein hee ſeems to have a faculty of looking into my heart, which I could wiſh hee had, when hee wrote, and poſſibly hee might ſay within himſelf, *That now hee had taught mee to bring a man of his merit upon the ſtage, to make him the diſcourſe and laughter of the Country for leaving* Claverton, *and going to* Pewtey; I defie it, and ſuch revengeful thoughts as it moſt injuriouſly fathers upon mee, whereas they were conceived and born in his own breaſt, and begotten of his own revengeful imagination; and I further ſay, that the coining of ſuch croſs comments upon the carriages of others, is a moſt unwarrantable practice, unbecoming a Chriſtian, and much more a Miniſter of the Goſpel, I can never ſufficiently bleſs the Lord that it is beyond the reach of Mr. *Buſhnel*, and his witneſſes, to make mee (though a moſt unworthy ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt) the diſcourſe and laughter of the Country, though poſſibly ſome prophane perſons, and ſcoffers at godlineſs, on an Ale-bench, may make themſelves

Jer. 20. 10.

ſelves very merry with Mr. *Buſhnels* jeering relation concerning mee.

Nay more, ſhould I have chanced to have met your Dr. *on the way, I ſhould have given him) not ſuch reverence as hee looks for, but) ſuch reſpect as I thought fitting: and upon ſome ſuch weighty Accompt, I have been told that hee was diſtaſted at mee; and ſo was* Haman *the* Agagite *againſt* Mordecay. Pag. 228.

Mr. *Buſhnel* might do well to keep in his bitter revilings, till hee have ſome ground of truth, upon which to bring them forth: doubtleſs his nameleſs reporter informed him of a wretched untruth, who told him that I was diſtaſted at him, for want of ſhewing reſpect to mee, and hee himſelf wanted ſome graines of Charity in mentioning *great reverence*, as that which I lookt for from *him* or any other under pain of *Diſcontent*: If I know my ſelf, a very little *Reverence* and *Obſervation* will content mee, but if I bee miſtaken in my ſelf, let all that know mee, ſpeak, though I finde Mr. *Buſhnel* in his Narrative, often rubbing (as hee thinks) upon that ſore of my loving to bee *reverenced*. Anſw.

Now Mr. Chambers *hearing* Henry Sheyler (*for ſo was his name, that made this pro e r*) *promiſing one hundred pounds, and having heedfully eyed him all the time, asks, (belike, fearing that the Commiſſioners ſhould have forgotten ſo neceſſary a Queſtion*) *Whether hee were ſufficient? ('tis like hee meant) to pay the rent, which hee proffered: And here to ſee how theſe Doctors, Mr.* Byfield, *and Mr.* Chambers, *concurr'd in queſtions (fundamentals) What is your Living worth a year, quoth Mr.* Byfield? *Is hee ſufficient to pay the rent, quoth Mr.* Chambers? *This buſineſs did in no wiſe concern Mr.* Chambers, *unleſs hee miſtook the Examination of the ſufficiency of the Tenant, for an Examination of the ſufficiency of the Miniſter.* Pag. 237.

For *Henry Sheyler*, a man that I had never any thing to do with in my life, why I ſhould ſo heedfully eye him, as Mr. *Buſhnel* reports, I cannot imagine, But whether I did, or did not, poſſibly ſitting by, and hearing the diſcourſe about renting the Living, ſuch a ſpeech might fall from mee; Anſw.

mee; Is hee ſufficient? you may bee confident I ſaid no more, nor preſſed it any further, if I had, Mr. *Buſhnel* doubtleſs would not have made little of much, who makes ſo much of ſo little ſpoken by mee; And whether it gives ground to ſuch a loud (jeering) out-cry about Fundamentals, as Mr. *Buſhnel* here makes, let the Chriſtian Reader judge.

Pag. 238. *The Dr. muſt give mee leave to tell him, that I have read of ſuch, who were of this judgements. That right and propriety to a thing were founded in grace; and that all men were Uſurpers who were not of the godly. Now wee know well to whom this Epithet* Godly *hath been by ſome men appropriated in theſe latter years, and for what purpoſes: And therefore might the Dr. bee ſo fierce againſt mee, as one (I being not of their mark) on whom even an Alms were caſt away.*

Anſw. That I was fierce againſt Mr. *Buſhnel*, will never bee proved by him, unleſs hee hath an Art to prove an untruth. That propriety is founded in grace, is (I know) an errour that hath met with entertainment in too many, which Mr. *Buſhnel* doth very injuriouſly in a way of ſly inſinuation, charge on mee. As for the incloſing the name *Godly*, within the pale of particular parties, I have ever abhorred it as a very unchriſtian practice: And as for Mr. *Buſhnel* (for all his words) I never did, nor will take upon mee to judge him; to our own Maſter, hee and I muſt ſtand and fall, and the Lord give him and mee grace impartially and duly to judge our ſelves, that wee bee not judged of the Lord.

Pag. 246. *Writing moſt bitterly (after his manner) of Mr.* Byfield, *hee ſaith, I beleeve, that were hee living, hee would confeſs that hee did mee as much miſchief as hee could; and yet I beleeve that one of the ſame tribe did mee more, although hee were more ſecret in it.*

Anſw. For Mr. *Byfield* (of the integrity of whoſe heart in what hee did, I have ground to bee much aſſured) I cannot hinder Mr. *Buſhnel* from beleeving of him what hee pleaſeth; But if I bee the other of the ſame Tribe which hee here ſpeaketh of, in beleeving that I did him more miſchief than

than hee did, who (as hee ſaith) did him as much miſchief as hee could, hee beleeveth that which the day of manifeſtation will ſhew to bee an utter uncharitable, unjuſtifiable untruth.

Chriſtian Reader, I will now onely offer to thy view, two or three of Mr. *Buſhnels* ſcurrilous paſſages (amongſt many) wherein hee maketh mee his But, and whereby hee thinks to caſt ſhame upon mee, and then leave it to thy judgement to conſider, whether it bee credible that hee had not in the Publication of his Narrative any aim to aſperſe mee (amongſt the reſt.)

Which is much worſe than thoſe worſt of men, the hypocritical Phariſees and Scribes, The Godly *of thoſe times Mr.* Chambers. Pag. 46.

Why may not the Doctor bee miſtaken in her, as many hundreds have been miſtaken in the Doctor? Pag 92.

William Pinchin, *and* John Trevers *have their varieties of baits, and flyes ſuitable to the appetites of their fiſh. We know that* Cataline *had ſuch heretofore, yea, Mr.* Chambers, *the chiefe Prieſts and Elders made uſe of the like,* Mar. 26. 61. *compared with* Luk. 23. 2. Pag. 171.

By theſe amongſt others his ſly and cutting ſcoffs the Reader may judge, whether Mr. *Buſhnel* had not a deſign to aſperſe mee in his Narrative.

After all theſe reproaches, and moſt ſlanderous irrational inſinuations, I finde not in the whole Narrative the leaſt intimation of any dram of charity which Mr. *Buſhnel* hath for mee; For although hee pretends to have a little good beleef of Mr. *Byfield*, if he were living, yet all things therein and almoſt every line thereof, ſpeaks forth the higheſt deſpight and contempt of mee; yet all the revenge that I will take of him, is to pray for him as for my ſelf, that the Lord would forgive him all his treſpaſſes, and renew his heart by his grace, and guide him with ſuch faithfulneſs and tenderneſs in relation to precious ſouls, to fulfil the work of the Miniſtery, that hee may give up his account with comfort to the great Shepherd of ſouls in the day of his glorious appearing. Pag. 208.

FINIS.

A

Vindication of the Late Commissioners for the Ejecting of Scandalous Ministers in the County of Wilts, *(so far as it concerns Mr.* Blisset, *and other the Commissioners of* Marleborough) *from the Aspersions of* Walter Bushnel, *Vicar of* Box.

WHen Wee consider how frequently (almost in every page) and how falsely Mr. *Bushnel* doth accuse and asperse so Eminent a person as Dr. *Chambers*, whose integrity wee thought had been beyond the reach of envy, wee suppose wee might bee silent, and leave the unprejudiced Reader to guess at the truth of his several charges against us, by his impudency and rashness in attempting to fasten such Notorious Calumnies on that Reverend Doctor; but fearing lest herein hee may gratifie the *Genius* of such who delight in aspersing pamphlets, and are too ready to beleeve the same, wee thought fit to say something for the vindication of our selves from the odious reproaches which Mr. *Bushnel* endeavours to fasten on us.

In the first place wee shall only take notice of one passage in his Epistle dedicatory, where, in a Vaunting manner hee ushers in his Narrative with plenty of reviling language against the Commissioners, thus.

You shall finde mee charging them with such Crimes which are not onely odious in men as Christians, but with such which were looked upon as vild and odious by the most civil sort of Heathens, and yet I have not charged them with a syllable which I am not able by proofs to make good upon them.

Ans. Tis very obvious that Mr. *Bushnels* design herein is to prepossess those honourable Persons to whom hee dedicates his book, with prejudice against us, and to beget

beget in them a beleef of what he saies; but what little reason hee hath to bee so confident, will appear when wee come to the tryal of his proofs. *Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus.*

In his Epistle to the Readers hee saith: *When they meet with the word Commissioners, they are not to understand us, as intending thereby all those Gent. whose names were put into the Ordinance, as charging them with those unworthy and unjust proceedings, many whereof (as to my business) never acted: But the Commissioners which I here speak of, are those that made ejecting of Ministers a kind of Trade, and unquestionably to themselves it was a beneficial one, such who were constant, and frequent, and furious in the business, and were these, Mr.* Blisset, *Mr.* Thomas Baily, *and Mr.* Hunt *of* Marlborough.

Ans. It is to bee noted again, how Mr. *Bushnel* doth anticipate the Reader, having not so much modesty or patience as to give him Liberty to judge upon the whole matter as hee finds it, but hee will bee (as our Accuser, so) our judge in passing sentence: The charge which hee brings against us is complicated, or made up of these two parts.

1 That wee made the ejecting of Ministers a *Trade*, and questionless a beneficial one.

2 That wee were constant, frequent, and furious in the business.

To the first of these wee have five several things to say by way of answer for our selves.

1 Tis sufficiently known that wee of *Marlborough* have ever had an indignation against that generation of men that have vilified the Ministers, as if they made a Trade of Preaching (though hapily some have been too guilty hereof) But the Vicar of *Box* is the first that hath made a discovery to the world of a new Trade of ejecting Ministers; But how unlikely it is that this should prove beneficial to us (whose Commission was only to remove scandalous and insufficient Persons from their livings, but had no power to settle any into either Parsonage or Vicaridge) we leave to the indifferent Reader to judge.

2 Mr. *Bushnel* may conceit what hee pleaseth to bee unquestionable

queſtionable, wee cannot hinder that, neverthelſs wee challenge him or any other whatſoever to make proof of the leaſt Emolument which ever did redound to us, and this from the hand of any perſon that either was brought before the Commiſſioners on a charge exhibited, and not ejected, or upon a charge proved, was ejected, or any one perſon that was preſented and approved by the Committee of approbation in *London*, to the living of ſuch perſon as by us was removed; yea (as well knowing our own innocency) wee do conjure Mr. *Buſhnel* to perform the promiſe which hee makes in his Epiſtle, that hee would not charge us with a *ſyllable* which hee was not able by proof to make good, and let the impartial reader judge whether Mr. *Buſhnel* (who would bee taken for a faithfull Miniſter of Chriſt) bee not bound in point of honour to himſelf, and his profeſſion, yea and in point of conſcience to (if there bee the ſenſe of either of theſe upon him) to make good by proof the foul charge which hee laies upon us (thorow out his book) of being mercinary perſons, and ſuch as have bin brib'd with monyes, Plate, Horſe, and hay: For to this effect hee ſpeaks in ſeveral places of his book, particularly in Pag. 227 where alſo our wives cannot eſcape his venemous pen.

3 Wee were ſo far from making this work of ejection, a *beneficial Trade* (as Mr. *Buſhnel* terms it) that in carrying on the ſame, wee all along, from firſt to laſt, acted upon our own private charge to the expence of above twenty pound apeece, to ſeveral of us, which monyes wee can prove (if occaſion require) was ſpent in our ſeveral journies, and ſittings, the which was never reimburſed by any perſons, nor yet out of the monies raiſed for incident charges.

4 Wee appeal to the great God, the ſearcher of all hearts, to whom all our actions and waies are fully known, that wee are cleer and guiltleſs of the charge which Mr. *Buſhnel* hath laid upon us, as to the value of one penny in Plate or money, or in any other kinde whatſoever: yea further for our vindication,

Wee

5. Wee do freely offer (if ever required thereunto) to take our oaths before any Judge of Assise, or Justice of the peace; that wee have not either directly or indirectly taken any such *Bribe*, *Gift*, *or reward*, or ever knew that in the work ejection wee lay under such a temptation from any person whatsoever, and therefore wee do again require Mr. *Bushnel* to produce any person within our County, or any other part of the Kingdome, that can testifie the *Giving*, or our *receiving* any such *Bribe or Gift*, to us, or by us, in relation to this ejection work, and wee are sensible (as who is not) that at this day, men will not bee shy or backward to make out any such thing (if they could do it) as Mr. *Bushnel* in his Narrative doth accuse us of.

Now to the second part of Mr. *Bushnels* charge, *That wee were constant, frequent, and furious in the business.*

Answ. Wee shall make but a short reply to this, as being not so considerable as to require many words; It is confest that wee were more constant and frequent than some others of the County, because the sitting of the Commissioners was usually in *Marlborough*, the place of our habitation (for of fifty four meetings there were above thirty in the said Town) and most of our work was in the Northern part of the County, below us or neer unto us (there being little to bee done in the Southern part, which was formerly purg'd of scandalous Ministers by *the Committee* long since appointed by Order of the house of *Lords* and *Commons*: Moreover, several of the Commissioners dwelt neer *Marlborough*, who did as frequently attend the meetings (for some of them) as wee our selves; and here wee would have Mr. *Bushnel* know that as wee can with boldness appeal unto God as to our ends and aimes, in our diligent attendance upon that imployment, that they were worthy and becoming the trust reposed in us, so to this very day (notwithstanding all his aspersions) wee do not in the least repent of being instrumental in the removal of any scandalous person, nor are wee conscious to our selves of being *furiously transported* at any time in the management of that work, against Mr. *Bushnel* or any other, but *conscientiously*

evenly made it our business to proceed *secundum allegata & probata.*

In the same Epistle to the Reader hee saith, *The* Commissioners *did often violate that* Ordinance *by which they sate, and according to which they were to act, and that in many particulars. As in admitting and countenancing* such *to swear (if they appeared against mee) which their* Ordinance *excepted against, in excluding such witnesses, if appearing for mee (yea after they had been sworn) which by their* Ordinance *they were to admit of; and at last making a* peremptory Order, *that* such as would, *might appear against mee, but no more in my behalf; and I charge them for discountenancing, interrupting, and thwarting with many witnesses, &c.*

Answ. Here is a long Chain of Calumnies that hath not one link of truth in it, and doubtless hee did on purpose set his invention on work, how to asperse us, and wee must needs acknowledge his sigular dexterity herein; But let Mr. *Bushnel* prove that wee did ever knowingly admit or countenance any person (by our Ordinance excepted against) to swear, or refuse witnesses produced by him, then wee are contented to undergo his censure; if hee means, that, of our admitting *Pinchin* and *Sanders* to swear, hee cannot but remember they had given in their Depositions against him before the Crimes hee charges them with were proved unto us, and as to the making that *Peremptory* Order, what rational man will beleeve it? it's as false a suggestion, as those that follow, *viz.* our discountenancing, interrupting and thwarting his witnesses.

It follows in the Epistle, *And I charge them all,* Commissioners, Ministers, *and* Clerk, *for* countenancing *and* incouraging infamous persons, *such who had* forsworn *themselves, and* touching some of themselves, *in their hearing, such as appeared out of* malice, *by their own confession, and were proved guilty of suborning, and of being suborned, to their faces; yea, and such as we should have proved guilty of forgery likewise, had not these Commissioners and Ministers by a notorious peece of injustice prevented it.*

Answ. Here Mr. *Bushnel* doth exactly observe the Rule of

to *Machiavel*, hee hopes that by *calumniating luſtily*, ſomething will *ſtick*: To this horrid and unjuſt Charge the Dr. hath ſufficiently (ſo far as it concerns himſelf eſpecially) replied, and ſhewed the *impertinency* and *invalidity* of the ſeveral proofs, whereby Mr. *Buſhnel* hath indeavoured to faſten this accuſation on him, and 'twill bee evident to any one who hath the patience to peruſe his Book, that hee makes no conſcience of what hee ſaies, for throughout his whole Narrative there is not one *Argument* or *Proof ſufficient* to ground this charge upon the Commiſſioners. We do therefore once more deſire Mr. *Buſhnel* to be ſo ingenuous, as to inſtance and declare which of the Commiſſioners did ever countenance ſuch kind of perſons as he here mentions, and to ſhew wherein the Commiſſioners were ſo unjuſt as to prevent the diſcovery of any who were guilty (as hee ſaies) of Forgery: Wee do acknowledge that (amongſt ſeveral ſubſtantial witneſſes produced againſt him) there were ſome few whoſe teſtimonies (after ſome crimes alledged againſt them) were not ſo authentick as others, and doubtleſs Mr. *Buſhnel* means theſe: to conclude this, if the Articles offered by *Trevers* bee that which hee intends for forgery, it is well known, and Mr. *Buſhnel* cannot but remember, that they were diſowned and rejected, and hee not proſecuted thereupon, but upon others; and if this bee not it which hee ſtrikes at, wee cannot gueſs at what hee means.

Page 212. *But ſince I have heard that ſome body hath furniſht one of the* Marlborough *Commiſſioners with a horſe, yea, and that ſome body hath preſented him with a parcel of hay ſince that, ſo that it may bee that the horſe or the hay made the ſpeech and not the maſter.*

Anſw. To this blinde ſtory of *ſome bodies* giving theſe things to *ſome body* of the Commiſſioners, wee ſhall ſay no more, than that wee know not of any perſons giving, or of any ones receiving the ſame, and do challenge Mr. *Buſhnel* to diſcover the perſons (if hee can) according to what hee declares in his Epiſtle dedicatory, who ſaith that hee hath not charg'd us with a ſyllable which hee is not able by proof to make good upon us.

In

In pag. 249. *Mr.* Bushnel *saies* (*as Mr.* Stern *reported it*) *that the Commissioners demanded fifteen pound of him for their incident charges in thrusting mee out.*

Answ. How true this is that Mr. *Stern* reported it, wee know not, nor do wee beleeve Mr. *Stern* will justifie it, nay, we are sure, hee cannot; for Mr. *Stern* well knows that there was never more than ten pound demanded from him for incident charges for the Vicaridge of *Box*, but upon what ground Mr. *Bushnel* doth impute this demand to bee meerly for thrusting *him out*, wee cannot imagine: Reader, see the *Ordinance* by which wee acted, and thou wilt perceive for *what incident charges* (at which Mr. *Bushnel* so often cavils) was demanded.

In pag. 252. *I have not yet done with this fifteen pound charges incident* (*and when I have done with that I have done with all*) *for let mee now observe unto thee, what a beneficial Trade those* Marlborough *men made of it, Let the winde sit which way it would: I think in this particular out-doing the Jews themselves, for they would so far improve their opportunities, that sail as what could, they would turn it to their advantage.*

Answ. What causeless *Outcry* doth this man make? the relation it self being false, as wee have shewed, and what was paid came from Mr. *Stern*, not Mr. *Bushnel*; Hee tels us, having done with this, hee hath done with all, and if this bee all that hee can bring by way of charge against the *Marlborough* Commissioners, let the Reader judge, whether it amounts to any thing? No doubt Mr. *Bushnel* making it his design (as it appears) to render the Commissioners odious, consulted with the rest of his brethern that had been in the same predicament with him, to finde out what other sums came to our hands. But hee could hear of none, therefore makes the ten pound incident charges received of Mr. *Stern* (to which himself invents and adds five more) as it were his Text, upon which hee raiseth an *Observation* what a beneficial Trade the *Marlborough* men made of it; this is as natural as some of those Reasons by which hee proved his doctrine at his examination before the Commissioners and Ministers.

My

Mr. *Bushnel* having not yet sufficiently disgorged himself, wee finde him again at the fifteen pound, pag. 255. *And* (saies hee) *fifteen pound they demanded for thrusting mee out; 'tis good being a hang-man upon such terms; and questionless this was enough to make mee scandalous, because I would not daub, and they were resolved to get by mee, one way or other.*

Answ. This as to the matter of Fact is before answered, wee shall not (with Mr. *Bushnel*) reiterate, as to what follows, 'tis very unsavoury and unbecoming the mouth of a Minister; and truly the Commissioners need not bee suspected of injustice, in outing Mr. *Bushnel* for a scandalous person, when the very language which comes from his Pen for the vindication of himself, speaks him *scandalous*, and wee doubt not but the Reader will judge him so, if hee casts his eye onely upon thee 154 page of his Book, where hee discovers the froth and filth of his spirit, in comparing the Commissioners to *Hang-men, Sheep-stealers*, &c.

In the same page Mr. *Bushnel* makes sport for his Reader, in relating a story which hee heard of a theevish Miller, to whom hee compares the Commissioners, his words are these; *And now one would think that they had undone mee, as much as possible, and yet Mr.* Sterne *hath told mee, that hee is a greater loser than my self, that I am four hundred pound the worse, but that hee is five hundred pound the worse: so that to mee hee seems to have met with some of such a disposition, whereof I have heard a Miller to bee, who stole five pecks out of a bushel.*

Answ. This shews that Mr. *Bushnel* in the want of truth hath a minde to make himself merry with his own lyes, for hee was removed from *Box* in *September*, 1656. and this Vicaridge reputed worth but ninety pound, *per annum*, and hee entring to it again before harvest 1660. So that hee was deprived of the profits of the same, not full four years, the which Mr. *Sterne* took fully to his own use (excepting only the tend pound *incident charges*) so that what Mr. *Bushnel* lost, Mr. *Sterne* had and * received, how then doth it follow that these two men can bee losers of nine hundred pounds between them? This is much like the Millers

* Fifts to Mr. *Bushnel* only excepted.

ſtealing five Pecks out of a Buſhel.

And now as to what concernes Mr. *Bliſſet* (one of the Commiſſioners) in particular, the Reader is deſired to obſerve what followes.

Pag. 208. As to my ſelf in particular, whereas in page 208. he boldly chargeth me (though upon a bare report) with the receiving of *xx.*l. his words are, viz. *Theſe men as Godly as they are, love dearly to be fingering money, Mr.* Sterne *hath ſaid that* Mr. *Bliſſet had* xx. l. *of him* (*I believe half the money would have made him my friend*) *which in all probability he had an eye to of a long time.*

Anſw. Now let the Reader judge of the ſpirit of this man, who is not onely void of charity, but common Ingenuity; to make ſuch a Concluſion from a bare *reported* Premiſſes, and to paſs ſuch a poſitive ſentence upon ſuch a *report*, as will appear to be a very grand miſtake between them, (I mean Mr. *Buſhnell* and Mr. *Sterne*) and I refer him to Mr. *Sterne* for the rectifying thereof, & then I doubt not but he will quickly ſee his over-forwardneſs in cenſuring, conjecturing and believing ſo much amiſs of me, but more of this by and by:

Pag. 239. Mr. *Buſhnell* hath another fling at me, in page 239. hoping that ſome of his dirt will ſtick. *It ſeems* (ſaith he) *that Mr.* Bliſſet *was well acquainted with Mr.* Sternes *receipts, I doubt not but he and his ſon* William *hath been well acquainted with ſome of Mr.* Sternes *diſburſements.*

Anſw. *It ſeems*, and *I doubt* not, proves nothing, but is a farther manifeſtation of his ſpleen, Laying the ſtreſs of all he ſaith, upon conjectures, and his own bare ſuppoſitions. Again, he harps upon the ſame ſtring, leſt it ſhould be forgotten, in page 249.

Pag. 249. *Beſides the* xx l. *Mr.* Bliſſet *had from him, of which I have ſpoken already.*

Anſw. And ſo have I alſo.

Pag. 253. Again page 253. That he might be ſure his Reader ſhould not forget, yea that he might the more certainly confirm him in the belief of that which before he affirmed barely upon the report of another, the ſame is now become a truth upon his own knowledge, for ſaith he, *And here I*

can

can speak upon my own knowledge, *viz. Mr.* Blissett *had, I know not for what else, but for putting Mr.* Sterne in.

Herein Mr. *Bushnell* doth imitate those who by often telling incredible stories come at length to believe them to be truthes; And were it true, yet it must be a lye in him, since here he affirms that to be true on his *own knowledge*, which in several pages before he confesseth he took up onely on the bare *Report* of Mr. *Sterne*: But however Reader for thy satisfaction, I shall farther add, for the clearing my self in this particular, Answ.

That I never saw one penny of Mr. *Sternes* mony in all my life, nor did I (or any other to my use) ever receive one penny, much lesse such a sum from him, or from any other by his appointment; nor was I ever under that temptation from him, nor did I know or was I made acquainted with what contracts Mr. *Sterne* made with any person in order to his coming into *Box*: Though (I believe) Mr. *Sterne* will acknowledge he received from me as many civilities as he could in reason expect (being a stranger to me) which he hath often acknowledged to many persons, and fully expressed the same in a letter long since unto me. Therefore knowing my own innocency as to this charge, I do *appeal* to Mr. *Sterne* to Justifie the truth of this my Protestation, who is quoted by Mr. *Bushnell* to be the Authour of this scandalous Report.

Again in page 254. Mr. *Bushnell* adds, *And if it be as* Mr. Sterne *hath reported it, Mr.* Blissett *hath not been wanting to himself in this business; for he hath not onely made the Vicaridge of Bath bring him in plentifull recruits to his Treasury for the present, but also he hath so providently provided it, that it shall yield him a crop after we are dead and gone, for as Mr.* Sterne *told me, he hath got the next Presentation to the place, so that it is not to be wondred, that he ruined me first, and (after he had received his largess from him) carved me how soon Mr.* Sterne *were gone from the place, in order whereunto, it was intimated that he should be made weary of it, because his income was scant, and so upon Mr.* Sternes *avoidance, he might make use as he best of his presentation.* Pag. 254.

This charge against me will soon be brought to a short issue Answ.

issue, It consists of two parts, The one (though expressed in other termes) I have already answered, *viz.* *Box* Vicaridge bringing in plentifull returns to my Treasury (I suppose hee means the twenty pound) I shall say no more to this. The second is as false a suggestion as the first; Let this bee the issue between us: I appeal to that honourable person Sir *Hugh Speak*, Knight and Baronet, who is the undoubted Patron thereof; I say, I have nothing to do in the next Presentation, nor had I in the last, more than in telling Sir *Hugh Speak* that I thought Mr. *Sterne* to bee an able & honest man, & one that might deserve his favour, so that these premises having no foundation, I doubt not but the impartial Reader will adjudge his Conclusion, pag. 255. as rotten. I abhor that lying of his, that I ruined him, hee may very well remember my inclinations towards him were otherwise*. I require Mr. *Bushnel* to make good (if hee can) that I indeavoured to weary Mr. *Sterne* of *Box*, that I might make my advantage upon the next Presentation *. These, Mr. *Bushnel*, of all assertions in your Book, are the most diabolical: I challenge you, or any person whatsoever, to make good these, or any other passages of the like nature upon mee throughout all the Actions of my whole Life (having been in publick imployment neer fourteen years last past.)

* I appeal to *Edw. Carter* Esq; his Counsel.

* Enquire of Mr. *Sterne*.

Reader, wee thought fit to tell thee, that wee have had no greater allowance of time, than some forty eight hours, both for the reading of Mr. *Bushnels* Book, and composing an Answer to those Passages that seem to reflect upon us; for till within this two daies wee had no thoughts of entring upon this ungratefull work, neither did wee know of any Reply that the Doctor intended, which might give us an opportunity to annex something thereunto for our vindication, and if wee mistake not, wee do not finde any thing in his Narrative, save what the Dr. and our selves have fully answered to, that carries any matter of Reflection with it. As for his oblique charges, scurrilous expressions, and quibbles, and Mr. *Bl. Sets Circumstance* so often iterated and sported with, wee are resolved not to take notice

tice of them: But if in this undertaking of his hee had had so much modesty and ingenuity as to have forborn his invective and satyrical language both against Commissioners and Ministers, and had fairly set before the Reader the whole proceedings in the business of his Ejection, without such monstrous Comments and Inferences, and not put the stress of the Truth of what hee *principally* chargeth on us, upon [*As I conjecture*] [*as I think*] [*as I beleeve*] [*as I was told by some body*] [*as it hath been reported*] [*and in probability*] [*and it seems so*] [*and 'tis evident enough to mee*]*and as I remember*] [*and the like.*

Risum teneatis amici? wee should have thought the judgement of his Ejection (as to the Matters charged on him, and the proofs thereof made by *such* witnesses (as hee renders them) and the defence made by himself, and his witnesses for him) would have lain with the more clearness before the Reader, as to the Sentence of his Ejection, whether it was just or unjust.

FINIS.

A WORD from the CLERK— TO THE VICAR of BOX.

Mr. *Buſhnel*,

CAſting mine eye upon your Narrative, I finde you ſquirting out many ſcurrilous paſſages againſt my ſelf, which I can bear well enough, but I am troubled to ſee how you load others, and that you, who profeſs your ſelf a Miniſter of Chriſt, ſhould ſo far adulterate your fancy with the ſpirit of darkneſs, and at length bring forth into the world ſuch a monſter, whoſe uglineſs (I doubt not) will bee offenſive to any that ſhall behold it with a *Chriſtian eye*. And although the Charge you bring againſt mee for entring Depoſitions by halfs, confounding the Order in which they were taken, and for leaving out material clauſes, which might have been to your behalf, deſerves no other anſwer than a *Mentiris Buſhnelle*, yet for mine own Vindication, the world ſhall know that I had a peculiar reſpect and tenderneſs for you when you were upon the Stage, deſiring you might come off with honour and ſafety, and that my management of your buſineſs (ſo far as concerned mee) did argue as much, I dare appeal to your own conſcience, as well as to your own Counſellour *Edward Carter* Eſq; I muſt alſo minde you with a ſhrewd, and (I beleeve) wilful miſtake of yours, or rather a ſubtil equivocation about the name of *Bliſſet*, by which you indeavour to caſt a blot upon the untainted Reputation of my Father, as if hee had received twenty pounds for being

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an Instrument to help Mr. *Sterne* into *Bex*: Sir, this mony was given by him unto * Mr. *Blisset*, the Clerk, and not Mr. *Blisset* the Commissioner, and this not to mee, as Clerk to the Commissioners, but as I undertook to bee his Solicitor to Sir *Hugh Speak* the Patron of *Bex*, under whose displeasure * Mr. *Sterne* was fallen, for addressing himself to *Oliver Cromwell* for the gift of the same, and for entring on the Vicaridge upon that Title without the consent of Sir *H. S. M. Sterne* knowing the interest I had in that honourable person * applied himself to mee to become his Advocate, and voluntarily offered mee, by way of reward, twenty pound: I did therefore after much pains and labour work him into the favour of Sir. *H. S.* and got his Presentation for him. To conclude, I do protest, that both the proffer, and receipt of this summ of mony from Mr. *Sterne*, was altogether unknown to Mr. *Blisset* (my Father) until by accident hee had some hint of it at the least six months after; and as I wish you may now repent the aspersing him by your clamorous report of falshood; So I advise you to an *Index expurgatorius*, if there bee another Edition of your unsavoury Narrative.

* At this time I was married, liv'd of my self, without any dependence upon my Father, being by profession an Attorny.

* You may inform your self of the truth hereof from Sir *H. S.*

* This was done in the presence of *William Pinchin* and *Obadiah Cheltenham*.

William Blisset Jun.

FINIS.